

DC Gazette

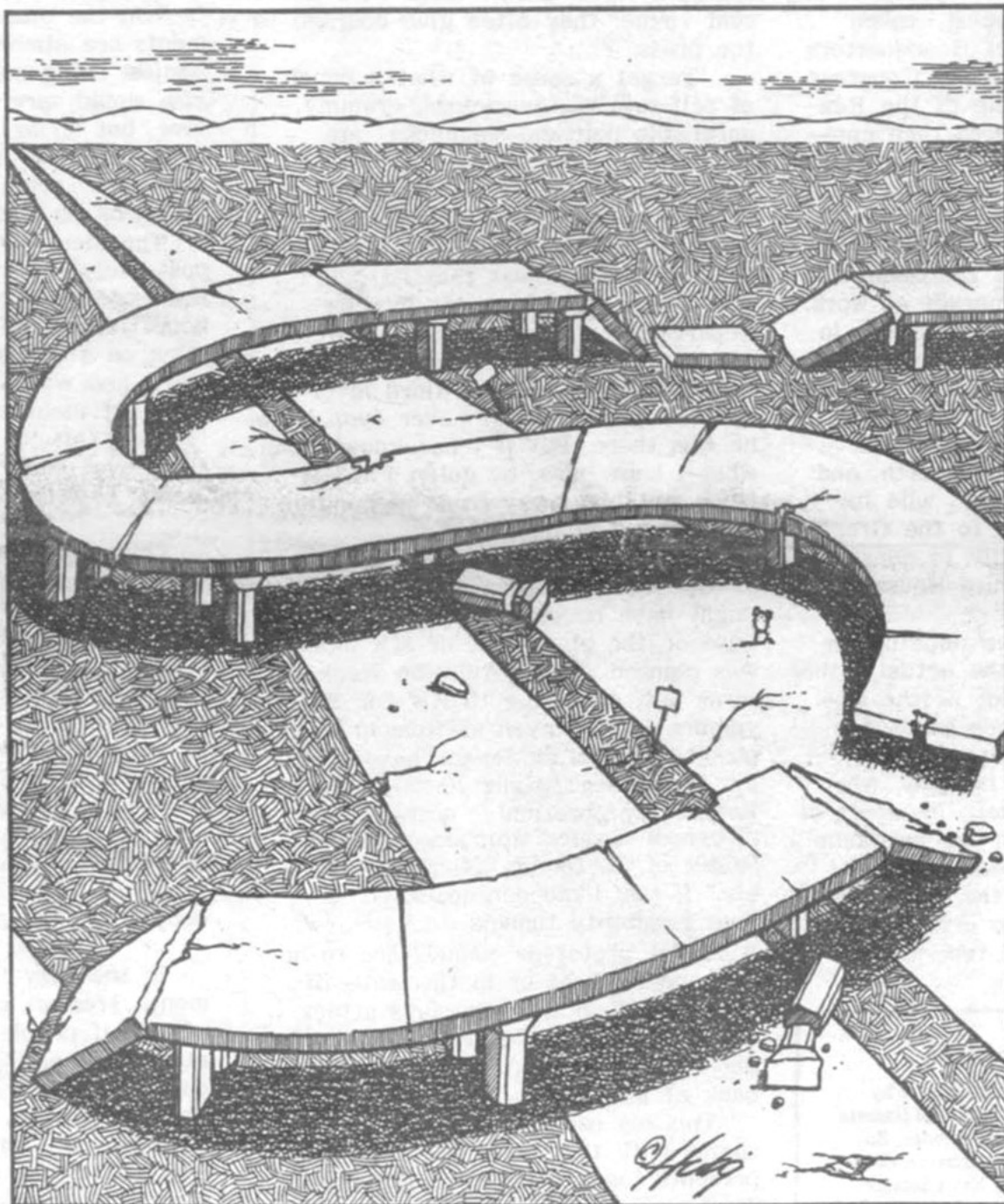
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THE MX & THE FREEZE MOVEMENT II DEALING WITH THE KLAN

In the midst of all the gloom, I have lately felt a slight draft that suggests the Reagan administration's window of vulnerability may be opening a crack. The first sign was, of course, the election, but since then there has been a striking change in the tenor of stories that have been coming out of Daddy Grease's holy temple. There has been a decline in coverage of ideology and philosophy and an increase in the sort of article that suggests a broad willingness among DG's disciples to rise above principle.

We have, of course, the remarkable multi-faceted affair concerning the Legal Services Corporation, involving everything from country club memberships and large extra-curricular contracts to behavior on the part of the president just short of impeachable nonfeasance.

We have the delightful prospect of the head of the EPA being taken down to Second District Headquarters and booked for contempt of Congress.

We have had the tale of the Reaganite who allegedly more than centupled the value of his stock options through the use of insider information.

We have an ICC commissioner calling kickbacks in the trucking industry "probably one of the clearest instances of the free market at work."

All of this news has conspired, in the manner that it always does, to take our minds away from such dreary subjects as supply-side economics, right to life, improving the moral fibre of the nation and so forth, and has emboldened journalists, who for two years have toadied to the Great Emaciator, occasionally to question the behavior of the White House crowd.

As is traditional, the impetus for this new attention to the actual rather than theoretical behavior of the administration has not been born of a revival of hard-nosed investigative reporting. If my guess is right, what really happened was that members of Congress returned from the precincts variously wounded, defeated or triumphant, but all with the word that it was now permissible to criticize the president. Since we all tend to be



TOPICS

Sam Smith

STICK NO BILLS

rather hard on our politicians, we should at least credit them with one real virtue: they often give courage to the press.

To get a sense of what a bunch of self-seeking, avaricious, crummy, unreliable political schmucks are currently leading the country, don't listen to me. Listen to a real expert in such matters: John Erlichman. Erlichman recently said that one of his real regrets was that he didn't fire James Watt from his Interior Department position during the Nixon administration. Said Erlichman: "He was working in about a third level in the Department and I never even knew he was there. But if I had known then what I know now, by golly, I would have sent him away from Washington as fast as I could have."

One of the reasons that Reagan might have become willing to compromise on the placement of MX missiles was pointed out by Aviation Week. It turns out, according to AW for November 1, that even as Reagan was pushing for his densepack basing, the air force was slipping funds to the Bechtel Corporation — erstwhile employer of Casper Weinberger, George Shultz et al, to dig "feasibility tunnels." If you liked densepack you'll love feasibility tunnels.

These prototype tunnels are to be dug under mesas or in the walls of canyons. When the Russians attack the site, the missile crew will simply dig their way to the surface and fire back at Moscow.

This big project, which Bechtel shares with the RA Hansen Company, presents some interesting challenges. As described in AV, "The most difficult technical challenge of the demonstration will be the phase in which the machine will have to bore through fractured rock and rubble simulating the results of a nuclear attack. Fractured rock can jam tunnelling machines and produce indefinite delay. In the feasibility test the total vertical distance will be limited to 150 feet, including 50 feet of Air-Force-provided rubble."

Given the Pentagon's increasing infatuation with hyper-secrecy we shouldn't count on full television crews standing by the feasibility tunnels and interviewing grieved love ones in case of an "indefinite delay" in one of the tests.

People willing to name a nuclear weapon like the MX "Peace-keeper" are, however, clearly capable of anything. Senator Ernest Hollings, in fact, suggests that "Next thing they'll be calling the B-1 Bomber the Virgin Mary."

Meanwhile, concern about the nuclear survival has even infiltrated the world of traditional jazz. The most recent issue of the newsletter of the Potomac River Jazz Club contains a report on "Jazz in the Post-Nuclear Era." The report points out that traditional jazz musicians would fare better than rock bands because of the latter's reliance on electricity: "Rock as a viable post-nuclear-war live music source is definitely out." Symphony orchestras would also have a problem because of the large number of old, dry wooden instruments that would be destroyed or damaged by heat.

"On the other hand, brass instruments are almost certain to survive. Banjos, being made mostly of metal, also would survive. Tubas would survive, but string basses would not. The combination of these factors is just one more proof of the wisdom and vision of Lu Watters."

The ideal instrumentation for a post-nuclear war band would be cornet, soprano saxophone, valve trombone (fallout would cause the slide to stick on a slide trombone), tuba, banjo and washboard. Recommended tune list includes "After You've Gone," "I Ain't Got No Body," "Mama's Gone, Good-bye" and "Do You Know What it Means to Miss New Orleans."

One of the less-noted trends in the magazine industry has been the growing tendency for every magazine to look like Psychology Today. PT has had a remarkable effect on graphic designing. So it is worth mentioning that Psychology Today, faced with a 27 percent newsstand circulation drop, has completely redesigned its format. Now every magazine looks like Psychology Today except for Psychology Today, which has come up with a format I hope no one will want to copy. Life moves on.

In the City Desk column this month, I remark upon the infectious effect of people like Reagan upon otherwise healthy individuals — in this case the mayor of Washington. Mayor Barry, however, is not alone. In fact, I have had the impression over the last 24 months that most Democrats were modelling themselves upon Marshal Petain rather than Roosevelt, Truman or Johnson. It is noteworthy, therefore, as Mario Cuomo begins his term as governor of the nation's heaviest state, is setting quite a different tone. In his inaugural address he said, "It would be a terrible desecration of our history to allow the difficulties of the moment, which pale when compared to those faced by our ancestors, to excuse our obligation to produce government that excels at doing what government is supposed to do. We can, and we will, refuse to settle for just survival and certainly not just survival of the fittest."

Neo-, ex- and pseudo-liberals, please copy.

THE DC GAZETTE

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PAUL KRASSNER PREDICTS!

• The Tylenol killer will be captured. He will turn out to be a former employee of the federal government, having worked for the Drug Enforcement Administration. His job, investigators will learn, had been to spray paraquat on marijuana crops.

• The grave of Lee Harvey Oswald will once again be opened, and Mort Sahl will be found inside the casket.

• Ronald Reagan will save the economy with legislation calling for a tax on cocaine.

• Richard Dreyfuss and Mackenzie Phillips will star in a film biography of John DeLorean and his wife.

• Celestial signals will become crossed, and Yoko Ono will accidentally communicate with the ghost of Grace Kelly.

• The Pulitzer Prize for journalism will be awarded to a publisher who tried to cover up the scandal of the Pulitzer divorce.

• The FBI will cut short an Abscam-type investigation into a nationwide pyramid scheme when it turns out to be the Sociate Security system.

• Alexander Haig will disown his son when he becomes a draft resister.

• Would-be presidential assassin John Hinckley will be released to the custody of the George Bush family.

• Moon Zappa will join the Moonies.

• A new Henry Kissinger will emerge, sporting a beard and an Irish brogue.

• Medical circles will be mystified by a unique disease afflicting CBS News's Dan Rather, as the handsome anchor person progressively begins to resemble E.T.

• A new military-oriented video game will become quite popular. It will be known as Dense-Pack-Man.

• Silly Putty will become the most effective form of birth control.

• Pope John Paul will declare that herpes is God's way of forcing couples to become friends before they become lovers.

• Dudley Moore and Gary Coleman will team up for a sitcom series called "The Short New Odd Couple."

• It will be discovered that in the early fifties, there were several babies cloned out of tissue from Alfred E. Neuman, including Ted Koppel, Prince Charles and David Letterman.

• A terrorist comedian will threaten to blow up NBC unless he is given a five-minute spot on the Johnny Carson show.

§

Bishops' Gamble

Antonio Stevens-Arroyo

When the second draft of a pastoral letter supporting a nuclear freeze was approved by the U.S. Catholic Bishops in their annual November meeting, the American Catholic Church took a gamble. The stakes are high because the bishops are betting on something more essential to Catholicism than a position on nuclear weapons.

The bishops have put their authority on the line.

This is the issue that will be fought out from the pulpits and in the parochial schools across the country—not so much what the bishops have said, but whether they have the right to say it in the name of all Catholics in the United States.

The teaching authority of the bishops is called the "Ordinary Magisterium." Traditional Catholic theology has given it to the Pope and the bishops to make such collective pronouncements. The Magisterium, unlike Papal infallibility or canon law precepts, does not mean that violators are excommunicated or are bound to obey under pain of sin. Rather, the Ordinary Magisterium serves more or less as an ideological explanation of policy which becomes the guide of Catholic belief.

However, the Ordinary Magisterium has fallen on hard days since the Second Vatican Council closed in 1966. Catholic opinion and behavior have continued to become more and more diverse, sometimes producing direct contradictions with officially stated church policy. One example is the birth control stand, enunciated by Pope Paul VI in his 1968 encyclical, "Humanae Vitae," and reiterated by the U.S. bishops. According to the research of Chicago cleric Andrew Greeley, most Catholics do not believe in the teaching of the Pope on this matter and many do not feel they are committing a sin if they practice birth control. In other words, the Ordinary Magisterium is not being followed.

If the bishops win their nuclear gambit and the general Catholic public endorses their position, the Ordinary Magisterium will have been partially restored. If not, their leadership function will have been weakened even further.

Some conservative Catholic leaders clearly are upset over the bishops' position. Michael Novak, from his office in the American Enterprise Institute, has stated that God will judge the bishops harshly for having identified the Church with the Democratic Party position on the freeze.

Phyllis Schlafly, crusader against the ERA, has warned the bishops that they cannot "tell us to love the Russians."

But the bishops have, in fact, taken a position on a mutually verifiable nuclear freeze that was victorious in seven out of eight states, representing nearly one fourth of the total voting U.S. public. A recent Gallup Poll indicates that Catholics, by the margin of 82 to 13 percent favor a bilateral freeze on production of nuclear weapons. The same poll found that half of the Catholics thought the U.S. should begin to destroy nuclear arsenals "even if it was unlikely that the Soviets would live up to such an agreement."

These findings suggest that the bishops' gamble is not a long shot, but rather a calculated effort to identify their teaching authority with popular rising sentiment for disarmament.

Also, the nuclear issue makes it possible for the bishops to widen the meaning of the expression "pro-life" so that it is not just a code word for anti-abortion movements. Archbishop John Roach of St. Paul, Minnesota, explained to his fellow prelates in Washington during the episcopal meeting that the Church must be concerned about all the victims of violence, "whether it be the violence of abortion or the violence of war."

Of course, this same tactic, that seeks to unite liberals and conservatives, could backfire and cause a polarization in which two discontented sides find fault with their episcopal leadership. The strong favorable vote on the nuclear pastoral letter suggests the bishops have set this political consideration aside in their embrace of nuclear disarmament.

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Antonio Stevens-Arroyo is an associate professor in Brooklyn College's Study of Religion Program and a former priest.

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New things to foul up

Not content with fouling its own nest, city hall seems determined to mess up a couple of other governmental institutions as well, i.e. the school board and the neighborhood commissions.

Between the mayor's re-transition team and elections board acting director David Splitt, the following lousy proposals have come forth:

- Delay the school board and ANC elections scheduled for next fall so the voter registration confusion can be straightened out.
- Permanently schedule school board and ANC elections so they are held simultaneously with those for mayor and/or city council.
- Increase the size of ANC districts.
- Eliminate write-ins in primaries.
- Give the mayor more power over the budget of the school system.
- Take away the authority of the school board to dispose of unused buildings and grounds.

The elections proposals amount to little more than punishing the voter for the sins of the elections board. The logic being used could easily lead to a suggestion that we extend the terms of all office-holders to eight years since it would reduce the chance of bureaucratic mismanagement of elections. Once again, we have an example of government adjusting things to suit its internal needs as a bureaucratic institution rather than serving the needs of the public.

While a bad case could be made for postponing the ANC elections on the grounds that new single member district have to be drawn in accordance with the 1980 census, there is no case at all for postponing the school board elections. Even in the case of the ANCs, Mayor Barry and Co. should be embarrassed to claim that they can't accomplish redistricting in accordance with law in time, especially since that time is more leisurely than states have enjoyed in redistricting congressional seats. Equally serious as a one-shot postponement is the idea that

AND TAKE OFF YOUR HAT

The folks at the Community for Creative Non-Violence have yet another case up in court, this time raising the issue of whether courtroom spectators can be held in contempt for failing to rise when the bailiff cries, "All rise." The CCNV defendants argue that their religious beliefs prevent them from "performing acts of deference to any person or institution but their God," who apparently is not either Superior Court Judge John Hess or Donald Smith. The judges threatened to jail the defendants for their lack of deference. It should be a grand case with precedents going back to William Penn and will be heard in Federal District Court.



SAM SMITH

non-partisan elections should be mixed with partisan ones. Here the real object of the game becomes apparent. At the very least, the change would increase the mayor's meddling in non-partisan races and at worst could give us, as Barbara Lett Simmons put it, "a huge leap forward into the kind of electoral corruption that can occur in partisan races."

The proposal to enlarge the size of single member district reflects a rampant lack of understanding of how neighborhood commissioners operate. Having been one of these folks once myself, I can tell you that 2000 people are all the constituents one needs. In fact, one of the reasons ward city councilmembers don't do a better job is because they have too many people to represent. There is nothing to be gained and much to be lost by enlarging the single member districts.

What is really needed is a reform of the administration of election laws and not new elections laws that weaken what democracy we have.

In the matter of the school board, the proposals represent nothing but a power grab by the mayor. This, like the ANC changes, should be strongly opposed.

The fact of the matter is that the school system has done better than much of Barry's administration in demonstrating actual and substantial progress in recent years. In addition, it often keeps its books better than do the folks at city hall. While there is still a lot of work to be done at the Board of Education, neither the mayor nor the council have presented any credentials to indicate that they are the ones to do it. Until they do, they should keep their paws off the place.

Maybe she really means it

Despite the fact that the Post buried the news as a "Around the Region" brief on the back pages, one of the most important local news stories last month was the ruling by federal judge June Green giving the city until May 15 to clean up its act at Lorton or face daily fines. Further, Judge Green said if substantial progress had not taken place by March 1, she would appoint a special master to run Lorton.

Those who have followed court cases involving the city's malfeasance

or non-feasance in other areas will recognize the syndrome. In this case, 1300 inmates sued the city and under a settlement reached in 1980 security, health and rehabilitation programs at the prison were to have been improved. They haven't; hence Judge Green's decision.

Re-transition

People keep asking me what I think of the mayor's reorganization plan. So I guess the mayor has achieved one of his desired effects — the illusion of firm, decisive action. As close as I can figure, however, I wouldn't hire him to trade for you at the player draft if you happen to own a major league team of some sort. He's lost some good talent but is showing little new strength. He has displayed slight ability to bring in new outside talent and has been forced to rely on his farm club. This doesn't mean there may not be some good people coming up from the minors but it does suggest a certain disinterest in DC elsewhere in the league.

As for the reorganization itself, don't give it a thought. Have you ever noticed when you move the furniture around in your house, how quickly life gets back to normal?

The evil men do not only lives after them, it also infects others while they're still alive. A case in point is the odd transformation of Marion Barry into a quasi-Reaganite. In small but disturbing ways the mean spirit of the White House seems to be drifting over to the District Building.

Little signs keep cropping up. Firing people for directly contradicting the mayor. An apparent lack of active concern over the plight of the homeless and a passive willingness to let budgetary considerations overwhelm all others — except, of course, where favored constituencies are concerned.

One can sympathize mightily with the mayor's fiscal worries, but there seems an increasing tendency to assume that these woes justify actions (or lack of them) that heretofore were considered unacceptable.

This is a subtle business, more revealed by rhetoric than by hard data at this point, but rhetoric is a leading indicator of action and when it turns from the language of compassion and progress to one of limitation, elimination and revenue, one should be wary. Even in hard times, balancing the budget should not be the foremost goal of government.

The danger here, of course, is that the fiscal restraint is highly selective and inevitably the poor and the weak feel its effects more than, say, developer-contributors. If news of the crypto-depression has reached the office of planning it is not yet apparent.

And what is ironic about all this is that if Marion Barry was still head of SNCC, he'd be leading the protest against the Barry administration and not sitting around wondering when he can sneak in the next user fee.

[Please turn to page 25]

PROGRESSIVE DIGEST

The sexes

Informed Homebirth is a non-profit organization that is offering classes in alternative childbirth, childbirth training certification and midwifery skills. They offer programs, tapes and books. Info: PO Box 788, Boulder, Colo. 80306

The Women's Computer Literacy Project is travelling around the country with workshops coming up in Los Angeles, Seattle, Washington, New York City and Columbus. Info: 415-824-6800.

An organization made up of women's history teachers and students is planning a thirty-minute documentary on female suffrage. Info: Congressional Union, PO Box 173, Bronxville, NY 10708)

George Gerbner, who is the dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, recently studied 1,600 prime time TV shows.

Gerbner found that male characters on these shows outnumbered the female ones three to one. Further, of the few married female characters depicted, only one in five was portrayed as having a job. In fact, more than half of American married women work outside the home.

Gerbner found that heavy viewers of television were more likely than light viewers to agree with the statement: "Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country to men."

* * *

A federal judge has ordered Northwest Airlines to pay \$52 and a half million to nearly 3,500 female flight attendants who won a sex bias suit against the airline in 1973. The award is the largest ever made under the 1963 Equal Pay Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The airline says it will continue to appeal the original decision.

* * *

Slightly more than half of Harvard University's 1,500 students have voted for a resolution that urges the school to expand its efforts to recruit more women and minority faculty members.

* * *

San Francisco's Mayor Dianne Feinstein vetoed a measure passed by that city's board of supervisors which would have allowed the unmarried live-in partners of city workers to have the same benefits as married ones. The measure was opposed by San Francisco's Roman Catholic archbishop.

* * *

Job bias against women and minorities continues at an "alarming level," according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. In releasing a report on the problem, Clarence Pendleton, chair of the commission, said hiring bias exists, "virtually everywhere, at every age level, and every educational level, at every skill level."

* * *

Books by and about women make up three of the four most-censored American books.

That's according to a survey of 860 school librarians around the United States. That survey found the most often censored book is *Go Ask Alice*, the diary of a teenaged drug user who committed suicide.

Next on the no-no list are J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, followed by *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, a self-help manual by the Boston Women's Health Book Collective. Fourth on the list is *Forever*, a novel by Judy Blume who writes best-sellers for young people, using realistic social settings.

The survey was sponsored by the Wisconsin Council of Teachers of English and the Commit-

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tee Against Censorship of the National Council of Teachers.

* * *

A federal judge last month upheld most of Pennsylvania's abortion law, which requires women under age 18 to obtain the consent of at least one parent, a guardian, or a judge, before they can get an abortion. The law went into force immediately.

* * *

Day care facilities are moving slowly but surely into the American workplace.

About 415 major employers, from banks to factories, now provide some kind of child care assistance for their workers. That number may seem small, but it's five times the number in existence five years ago, according to the National Employer Supported Child Care Study Project.

The project staff notes it's not only the parents and the kids who benefit from the on-site centers, but the companies as well. The project found that 18 of 20 businesses cut their worker turnover rate by an average of 24 percent after they started day care assistance programs.

Minorities

A new coalition has been formed of the seven largest black denominations. Called the Congress of National Black Churches, the coalition held a meeting in New York City last month, with economic issues at the top of the agenda.

Civil rights and peace leaders have announced plans for a march on Washington next August 28, which will be the 20th anniversary of the 1963 civil rights march. Goals of the march include a reaffirmation of "our commitment to jobs, peace and freedom," a drive for specific initiatives and improved relations among the groups that are part of the coalition. Info: Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent

Social Change, 503 Auburn Ave NE, Atlanta Ga. 30312.

A group called Blacks in Government reports that blacks are being riffed from the federal government twice as fast as whites. BIG president, Mildred Goodman, says reasons include the old problem of last hired, first fired and behind the scenes manipulation such as reorganizations. Says Goodman, "I'm not sure in every case the manager is saying I'm going to get rid of those black employees as much as he is saying I'm going to save my white buddies."

A new report from the Population Reference Bureau offers these facts about blacks in America:

• Blacks now constitute 11.7 percent of the population.

• Only 53 percent of all blacks live the south compared with 77 percent in 1940.

• Eighty-five percent of all blacks live in urban areas compared with 49 percent in 1940.

• 55 percent of all black births are out-of-wedlock compared with 9 percent with whites.

• Life expectancy for blacks is closing in comparison with whites, but is still six years less.

• Infant mortality among black births is twice that as among whites.

• About half of black families are headed by single adults compared with 20 percent for whites.

• 19 percent of college age blacks are in college compared with 26 percent of whites.

• Fifty-one percent of blacks have a high school degree compared with 71 percent of whites.

• Black unemployment is twice that of white.

• Median black family income is 56 percent that of whites.

• The poverty rate for black families is 31% compared with 9% for whites.

College-age people are more racist and conformist in their social attitudes than older segments of the population, according to two recent University of Maryland studies.

The results of the survey signal nothing less than "a stopping of the trend" of younger, better educated people espousing more racially tolerant views than their less-educated elders, says Sue Dowden, Maryland's Research Center project director.

At the same time Maryland's counseling center released the results of a survey comparing the attitudes of the school's freshman classes of 1970 and 1981.

"People had more variety in their viewpoints [10 years ago]," center Director William Sedlacek told the *Diamondback*, the student paper. "Now they're more close together. They tend to go along with the crowd."

Sedlacek's survey showed 1981's freshmen viewed communists, socialists, and liberals more negatively than did the freshmen of 1970.

Conservatives' negative rating declined somewhat.

Dowden's study, done at the behest of a governor's task force and taken state-wide, revealed that 18-to-19-year-olds are considerably more racist than the older age groups questioned.

Dowden's group asked people if whites had a right to bar blacks from their neighborhoods, if blacks should try to buy homes where whites don't want them to, and if interracial marriages should be made illegal.

Thirty-six percent of the 18-to-19-year-olds surveyed agreed whites could keep blacks out of predominantly-white neighborhoods, while 55 percent disapproved of black people trying to buy houses in white neighborhoods. Twenty-seven percent would approve of laws banning interracial marriages.

By contrast, the 20-to-29-year-old age group was considerably more open-minded. Only eight percent approved of separate neighborhoods. Thirty-one percent said blacks shouldn't try to buy in white areas, and just five percent favored a law banning interracial marriage.

"The attitudes that people have are changing," Dowden concludes.

She says the old racist stereotypes of inferior intelligence are disappearing in favor of "social, motivational and educational" stereotypes.—CPS

Only 10 percent of the 3.6 million children needing bilingual education in the United States are actually being served, and budget cuts threaten the already existing programs says Ramon Santiago, director of Georgetown University's Bilingual Education Service Center. "Bilingual education is being threatened at a time when the population needing the service is increasing."

Consumer

By a split decision, the FTC has killed a tentatively approved rule that would require food advertisers to substantiate nutrition and health claims. FTC Commissioner Michael Pertschuk called the decision an "abdication [which] will invite a free-for-all for deceptive health claims for food — claims which will cynically exploit and distort growing public concern with diet and health."

The White House is preparing to launch new regulations that will make life more hazardous for the nation's workers. Government agencies are expected to rewrite standards for worker's exposure to lead and cotton dust, ease up on job discrimination restrictions, and relax child-labor laws. In lobbying for the changes, the Reagan administration acknowledged last year's Supreme Court ruling that protecting the health of workers is "part of the cost of doing business," but the White House notes, the benefits to workers should be weighed against the costs to employers.

Engineers at Ohio State University are predicting a rash of amusement park accidents, due to Reaganomics. Budget cutbacks have stripped the Consumer Product Safety Administration of all authority to regulate or inspect amusement park rides, they say, and state inspectors aren't doing the job. That's dangerous, because studies have shown most accidents are caused by poor maintenance, not bad design or misuse.

A free booklet explains current U.S. credit laws, lists a glossary of credit terms and gives tips on getting credit through the case histories of two people. For a copy of the booklet, titled "Give Yourself Credit," write the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, PO Box WD7702, San Francisco, California 94120.

Economics

A five-year worldwide survey of labor unrest by the International Labor Organization has turned up some striking national differences. Picket lines are the shortest in Holland: the average there was 30 strike days per 1-thousand workers. Japan and Germany were close behind. The U.S. was in the middle: 464 days for each thousand workers. In Britain the figure was 566, in Canada, 864. Champions were the Italians, where each thousand workers averaged 11-hundred and 74 days on strike over the five years, and the Spanish, who walked out for a record 17-hundred and 49 days.

ADA has proposed a \$42 billion jobs program that would put more than three million people back to work. Notes ADA president Robert Drinan, "The nation's major economic problem is not government spending. The problem is unemployment. Each percentage-point increase in the jobless rate costs the Treasury \$30 billion and the overall economy \$100 billion."

The ADA program would include a \$20 billion infrastructure rebuilding program, a \$10 billion job training and education program, revival of the civilian conservation corps at \$500 million, and creation of a new Works Progress Administration at a cost of \$1 billion. In addition government would provide a minimum of 65 weeks of jobless benefits, at a cost of \$5 billion.

Drinan says the cost of the package is less than half what the nation is now paying "in monetary terms alone" for the administration's high-unemployment policies.

International

The New York Times reported last month that US covert activities in Central America have become the most ambitious paramilitary and political operation mounted by the CIA in nearly a decade. More than 150 agents are stationed in Honduras alone, where they are helping to train troubles to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. (NYT Dec. 3)

ADA's national board has called for both Palestinian self-determination and security for Israel. "Israel must withdraw — militarily and politically — from the West Bank," said ADA. "However, we urge that the West Bank and the Gaza Strip be de-militarized in perpetuity."

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Three groups that monitor human rights around the world last month accused the Reagan administration of "cheapening the currency of human rights." The three groups are Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch and the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights. They released a report reviewing administration policy in 23 countries.

Although it was hardly a friendly piece, the December 22 Wall Street Journal contained a lengthy article on the Greens, the anti-party political party of West Germany.

The Washington Office on Africa has launched a campaign to stop all U.S. nuclear assistance to South Africa.

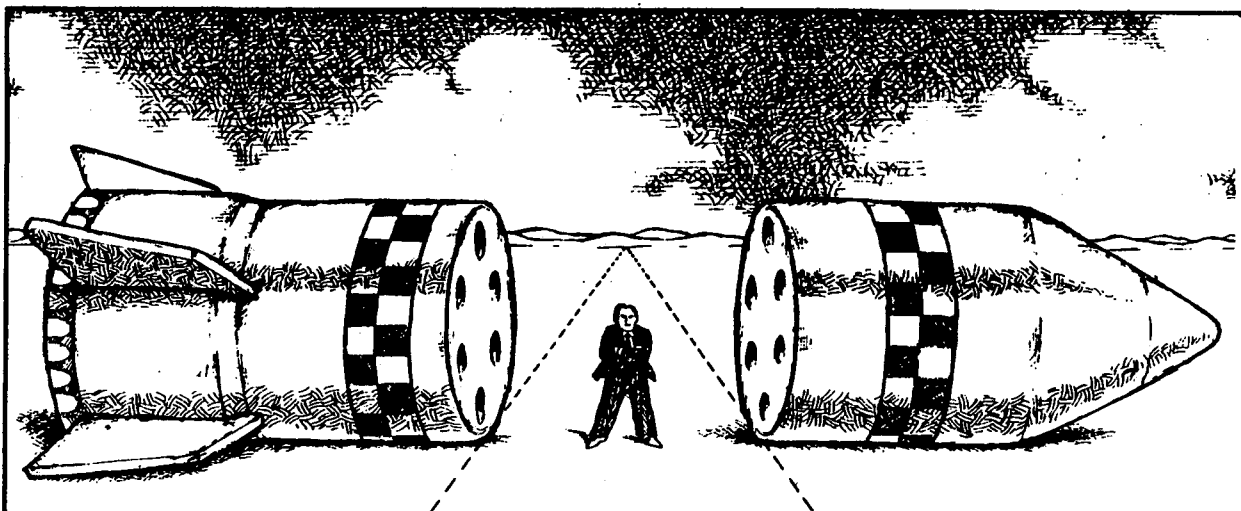
Jean Sindab, Executive Director of WOA, issued the following statement:

"The white minority regime of South Africa is capable of producing nuclear weapons. It has reached this menacing position due to direct assistance provided it by the United States, Britain, France, and West Germany. That assistance has drastically increased in the last two years due to the Reagan administration's policy of 'constructive engagement' which has actively sought to befriend South Africa. However, even though the Pretoria government has reached an advanced state in its ability to manufacture nuclear weapons, it is still dependent on the west for high technology equipment, enriched uranium, and technical training. It is for this reason that we call on the Reagan administration to cease all forms of nuclear assistance to South Africa and to use its leverage with our European allies to do likewise. We also call on the Congress to reject the Reagan administration's 'constructive engagement' policy of greater nuclear cooperation with South Africa and its apparent disregard for non-proliferation concerns and pass H.R. 7220 introduced by Congressman Rangel to stop U.S. nuclear exports to Pretoria. Nuclear weapons in the hands of the apartheid regime is a dangerous threat to the African continent and the entire world."

* * *

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MX Fight Shows Freeze Clout

James Ridgeway

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The congressional blockage of a full-scale startup of President Reagan's MX missile plan -- the first significant setback of a major weapons system in decades -- was largely attributable to an intense, behind-the-scenes lobbying effort by the nuclear freeze movement.

The freeze movement consists of literally hundreds of local groups, most of them springing into existence over the last year. They are largely autonomous, and their activities uncoordinated. Some, but by no means all, are part of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, a growing bureaucratic organization with upwards of 20 staff members and offices in St. Louis and Washington. The National Freeze, as it is generally referred to, is viewed within the overall movement as fairly conservative.

In addition to the National Freeze, the movement includes other prominent groups, various churches, and SANE. In Washington a national committee of about 20 of these groups meets to discuss policy, and every week a dozen or so lobbyists from different peace groups get together to set strategy.

Since the November election the freeze movement has split in its overall political objectives. The groups centered around the National Freeze want to push the basic resolution through the House of Representatives where, because of the election results, they feel assured of passage in the spring. Then, this part of the movement would like to beef up the resolution, perhaps by tying its implementation to the budget process. That is, if the president did not heed the dictates of the resolution, the arms budget might be cut.

Another major section of the freeze movement, however, believes the freeze should pursue a more muscular political approach. Led by SANE, the Council For A Liveable World and the United Church of Christ, this group has sought to cut funds for nuclear weapons systems, with the MX and Euro missiles heading the list. Washington politicians who are friendly to the freeze argue against attacking specific weapons systems, and such leaders as Senator Edward Kennedy have maintained that attacking weapons will result in a loss of support.

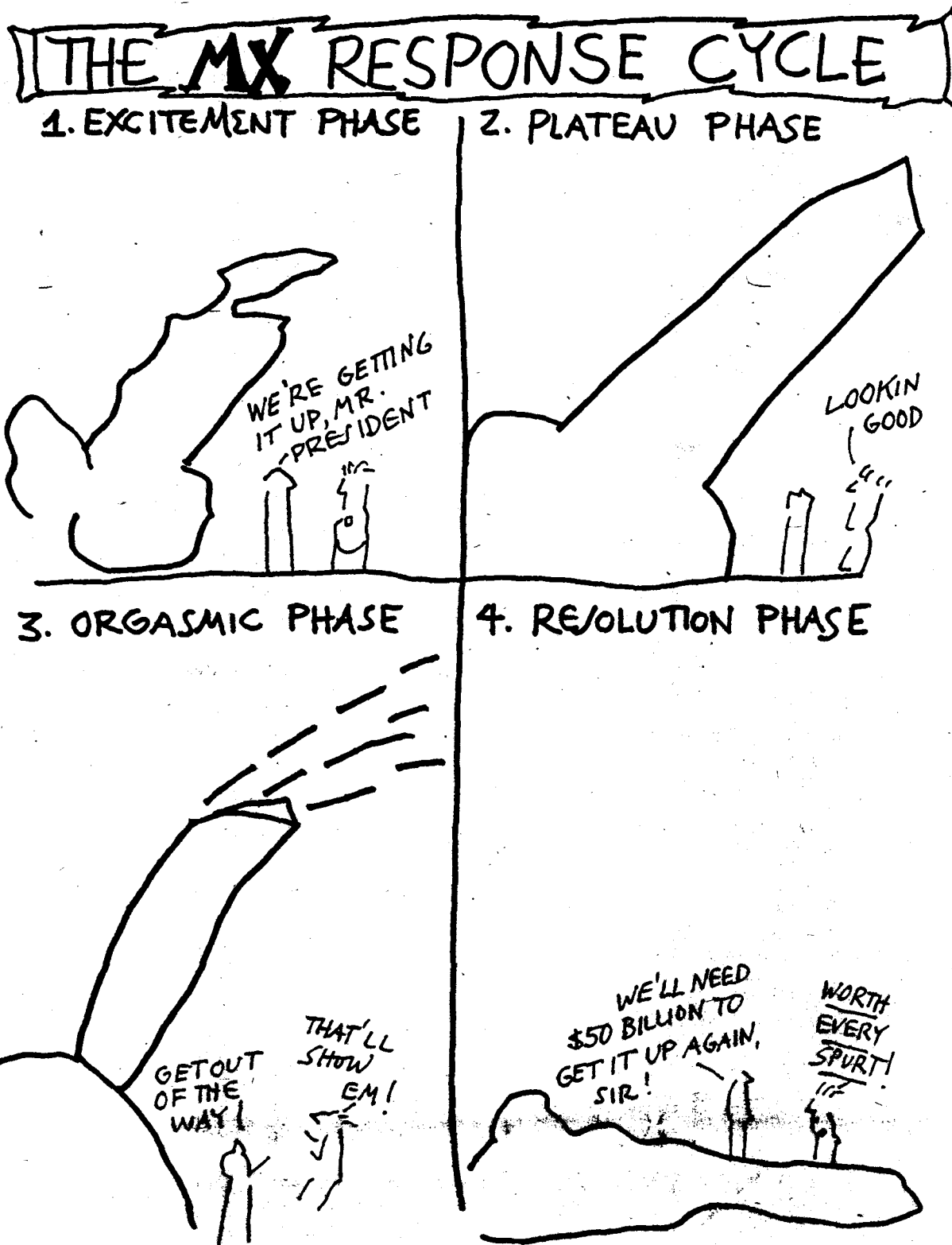
None of this has had any effect on SANE or its colleagues in the United Church of Christ and Council For A Livable World. They took the lead in tough lobbying against production funds for the MX, and the vote against such funding in the House is generally credited in large measure to their success.

All during the week before the House vote, SANE Washington offices were filled with staff and volunteers manning phone banks. They called local operatives, who in turn drummed up calls from member districts. The United Church of Christ, with a membership of two million, has set up peace activist offices in 200 congressional districts and uses these to organize for the freeze. Washington staff members call the local activists, who in turn organize the grass roots. As a result calls against the MX flooded into Washington with some members receiving as many as 500 calls in one week. These same tactics were repeated in advance of the Senate vote.

The emergence of the Protestant churches, led by the United Church of Christ, as a major political operation within the overall campaign, is a significant departure for the peace movement, which since the Vietnam war has been dominated by small splinter organizations. So, too, is the growing involvement of the environmental movement, with its large membership and secure financial base. Friends Of The Earth already has made the freeze part of its agenda and it has growing support within the Sierra Club, Audubon Society and Natural Resources Defense Council.

The churches and environmental organizations will not only widen support and provide an organizational base, but also supply financing. Up to November about \$3 million had been spent on the different freeze efforts. Of that total, \$1 million went to the campaign in California, the largest electoral test, with another \$500,000 going to support activities of the National Freeze Campaign. The remainder was spread about in different states and localities where the resolution was up for a vote. The main funders, a group of about 30-40 well-to-do individuals, gathered on a regular basis to sort out issues for themselves and to develop a unified strategy. Of this group the Rockefeller children have been the single most important source of money, followed by the better known liberal foundations. Direct mail, especially in California, played an early and instrumental role in raising funds.

[Copyright PNS]



The Reagan Administration's covert operation against Nicaragua serves none of the administration's stated purposes and is either "aimed at destroying the government of Nicaragua or is out of control," says the Center for National Security Studies.

A comprehensive analysis of the covert action was published recently by CNSS in *First Principles*. Based on previously secret negotiating documents, the organization argues that American officials have given the public a false picture of U.S. flexibility and Nicaraguan intransigence and have ignored Nicaragua's repeated offers to negotiate on all issues of concern to the U.S., including the reported flow of arms to El Salvador.

The article says that administration officials have explained the covert action as an attempt to disrupt the flow of weapons to El Salvador, or to aid Nicaraguan political moderates, or to persuade Nicaragua to slow its military build-up, or even to pressure the Sandinista government into negotiating on these and other issues. But it says the operation, when examined in detail, is clearly doing none of these things and in some cases is counterproductive. It concludes that the Reagan Administration "seems to have given up all thoughts of a positive future for Nicaragua and settled on a plan, in George Bush's phrase, to lead the country into madness and ruin."

The article, by Jay Peterzell, contends that even if the United States now decided to negotiate seriously it would be difficult to disband the coalition of Honduras and other countries hostile to Nicaragua. In addition, "the thousands of Nicaraguan exiles risking their lives to overthrow the Sandinistas will be turned off by a change in American foreign policy," it notes. The article adds that while raids and sabotage by exiles in Honduras are unlikely to topple the Sandinistas they do increase the danger of a war that is as like-

ly to destabilize Honduras, a U.S. ally, as to lead to Nicaraguan defeat.

The Campaign for Political Rights has published a transcript of a public forum held in May 1982, entitled, "U.S. Covert Operations Against Nicaragua."

The forum was organized by the Campaign for Political Rights, in cooperation with other foreign policy, civil liberties and religious groups to investigate the consequences of secret U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. Last spring, several media sources disclosed that the Reagan administration had authorized CIA covert operations against Nicaragua. Media reports since that time—particularly the November 8 issue of *Newsweek*—indicate that the Reagan covert operation is underway and could pose grave dangers in the months ahead.

The transcript, *U.S. Covert Operations Against Nicaragua*, contains the full text of statements made by leading experts in the fields of foreign policy, intelligence agency abuse and Latin American affairs.

The transcript is available from CPR, 201 Mass. Ave. NE, D.C. 20002, for \$5.

Alva Myrdal, co-winner of this year's Nobel peace prize, has issued a call for an international peace congress.

Myrdal says she envisions the congress a potential forum for strengthening the "mighty, popular movement against armaments."

Swedish inventor Alfred Nobel's will, written in 1895, stated that the peace fund should be used to finance the "holding and promotion of peace congresses." But, noted Myrdal, "as far as I know, no peace congress has ever been held" with money from the fund.

Environment

The nation's nuclear power plants are rusting away, and it's costing consumers billions of dollars to clean up the mess. One-quarter of the nation's forty-eight steam-generated nuclear reactors are corroding. Over the past ten years, rust has cost utility customers up to 4-and-a-half billion dollars...about 18-dollars for every American family that uses electricity. What's causing the rust in the first place? Researchers at the Electric Power Research Institute blame it on chemicals added—ironically—to make the reactor water non-corrosive.

* * *

A finding by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency that a widely used insecticide which causes cancer in laboratory animals poses no cancer risk to humans is being challenged as a sharp and potentially dangerous policy switch.

The insecticide, permethrin, produced by FMC Inc. of Philadelphia and by ICI, a British firm, is sold under the trade names Pounce and Ambush and is used on dozens of important crops, including vegetables and cotton. The EPA ruling removes the last major barrier to its permanent registration.

A leading critic of the decision, Rep. George E. Brown (D-Calif.), who chairs an agriculture subcommittee dealing with pesticide registration, said the decision is "one of several actions that suggest the EPA has adopted a new set of principles in reaching regulatory decisions on proven animal carcinogens." He added that "the agency has refused to acknowledge publicly that it has adopted a major change in cancer policy."—PNS

* * *

If you're looking for an inexpensive way to keep the cold out of your house, you might want to consider nightwalls — foam boards placed against the window. Zomeworks, PO Box 712, Albuquerque, NM 87103, sells clips that hold the boards in place magnetically.

The Seal Rescue Fund of the Center for Environmental Education has received a \$15,000 gift from Eastern Mountain Sports. Eastern Mountain Sports will continue to contribute to the fund through 1986 based on a percentage of sales of items made with Gore-Tex Fabrics.

Shop talk

Bill Adler, ADA foreign policy lobbyist has left to work for Nuclear Control. His replacement at ADA is Gregory Weaver.

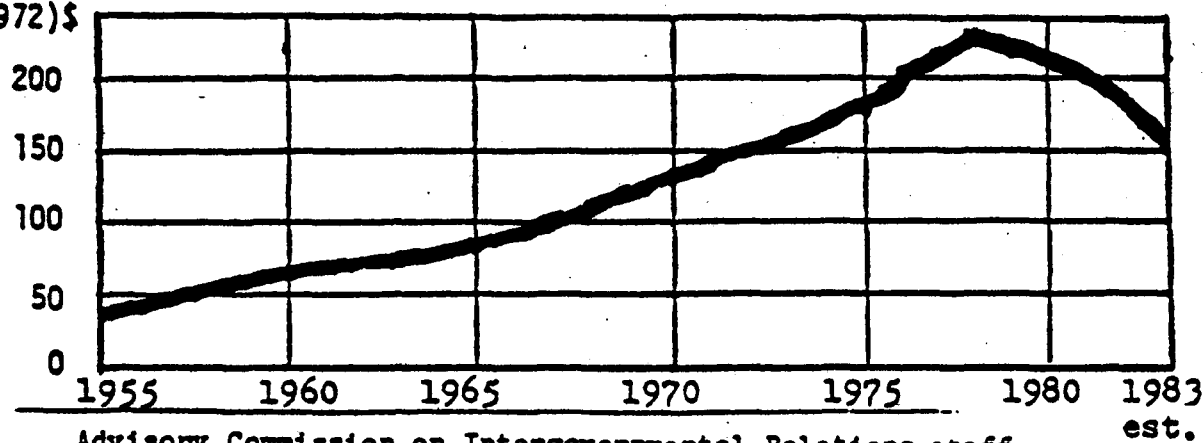
Frank Gallo, formerly executive director of the DC ADA chapter has become press secretary for national ADA.

Stuart Gay has joined the staff of the National Capital chapter of the ACLU as administrative assistant in charge of the newsletter, planning forums and acting as officer manager. He graduated last year from Bucknell where he founded a monthly journal of political analysis and was coordinator of the Bucknell Progressive Caucus.

The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy is looking for a field director in the \$14000-17000 range with a minimum two year commitment. For details call the Coalition at 202-546-8400.

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Cities

The National League of Cities says that if federal revenue sharing funds are cut, city property owners could face tax increases of as much as 45 percent. According to the NLC's survey, small cities would be hurt the most. For 63% of towns of under 10,000 it's the only federal aid they get. Even in cities of 10,000 - 50,000 population, 41 percent get all their federal funds from revenue sharing.

One town, Warren, RI, has already taken action in anticipation of the cuts. It has been funding the police department with the monies but now will use it only for one-time purchases.

Congress has to renew revenue sharing next September if the funds are to keep flowing.

Health

As we have reported previously, the matter of emissions from video display terminals has become a matter of concern in Canada, but not in the US. Now a group has been formed to make people more aware of the dangers of VDTs. Citizens Against Video Victimization (6565 Sunset Blvd #202, Los Angeles CA 90028) cites a Department of Health and Human Services report that states that the average word processor or computer operator is exposed to about one third the government-mandated safety level for radiation exposure every day. And CAVV quotes Dr. H.D. Youmans of the Bureau of Radiological Health reporting in 1976, "We questioned whether TV radiation was important because it was so low compared to the output of an X-ray machine. We thought the rays would be soft and nonpenetrating. Instead, we found rays escaping from the vacuum tubes to be harder and of higher average intensity than we expected. They penetrated the first few inches of the body as deeply as 100-kilovolt diagnostic X-rays. You get a uniform dose to the eye, testes and bone marrow." Video terminals also emit microwaves which has been found to cause all sorts of disorders.

CAVV is providing financial assistance for a court-case on the responsibility of companies and the government in this matter.

* * *

Drugs—legitimate drugs—are making highways even more dangerous. A study by the National Institute of Drug Abuse found that in one California county, one out of every four routine drunk driving

arrests actually involved prescription or over-the-counter drugs, not alcohol. Top health officials say cough syrups, painkillers, allergy remedies and other medications can make even the most careful driver dizzy, drowsy, confused, and generally less alert. Dr. Markku Linnoila, researcher at the National Institute of Mental Health, says widely-prescribed drugs like Valium dull driving skills because they reduce "vigilance in monotonous situations," and hamper your ability to follow a moving object with the eyes." Linnoila blames doctors for the problem. "Only one patient in five," she says, "reports that her doctor warned her about the dangers of driving under the influence of drugs."

* * *

Those lightweight stereo headphones have gotten a lot of bad press lately—citing the danger to pedestrians, drivers and eardrums—but a Yale

University psychiatrist says they're great for treating a form of mental illness. Doctor Robert Feder prescribed the headphones for a patient who heard imaginary voices while doing his work. With the headphones blasting away, says Feder, "he heard only the radio...and none of the voices."

* * *

Politics

The Supreme Court ruled last month that small political parties do not have to reveal the names of their contributors nor detail their campaign expenditures. The case stemmed from a suit by the Socialist Workers Party, which had been subjected, during the sixties and seventies, to what the court called a "massive" campaign of disruption by the FBI. The decision could apply to any party that can indicate a record of harassment.

Cooperatives

A study by the Farm Credit Administration found that the National Consumer Cooperative Bank had a high level of problem loans. Problem loans at the bank account for nearly 25% of its portfolio compared with about three percent at large commercial banks. Most of the problem loans involved housing coops that had bought apartment complexes and then run into financial difficulties.

WHO SAID HE WAS RUNNING?

Eugene McCarthy

Senator Kennedy has made what the press calls a "formal announcement" that he will not be a candidate for the Presidential nomination of the Democratic Party in 1984. Just what constitutes a formal announcement, as distinguished from a simple announcement or an "informal announcement" is not quite clear. There is nothing about a formal announcement that is official or ultimately more binding than any other kind of announcement.

It may be that in time, through tradition, announcements made under certain conditions, either to run or not to run, may take on binding force.

AS OF NOW, the custom seems to be developing, among senators and ex-senators, when making announcements relative to Presidential campaigns, to do so in a committee or public room in the Senate office building. Formality is intensified when the announcements are made with wife and/or children present as witnesses and, if subsequent to the announcement, family members indicate that they approve of what has been decided.

These conditions were met in the Kennedy appearance.

However, formal announcement that one will not be a candidate is unprecedented in American politics and therefore more difficult to interpret or to judge as to its binding character than is a formal announcement of intention to run, and especially so when it does not follow a formal or other announcement that one is a candidate.

Under these conditions a change of mind may be more easily justified. Such a change would not necessarily involve contradiction, for as the political philosopher Edmund Burke observed, the number of factors bearing on any political decision is infinite, or nearly so, and consequently the number of variations among decisions can also be infinite, or nearly so. The passage of time is one of the ever changing conditions.

DESPITE ALL of the press attention, the Kennedy withdrawal is scarcely comparable to the repudiation of the British crown by the Prince of Wales earlier in this century.

Whether Senator Kennedy changes his position later or not, his present withdrawal from the race which has not yet begun should make it easier for other Democratic candidates and their supporters to organize and conduct their preliminary tests, after

they have divided the Kennedy garment among them, as best they can, and possibly cast lots for the seamless robe. The discounting of the Kennedy factor in the campaign has already begun, and the crediting of it to other political accounts already begun.

The Kennedy withdrawal removes one obstacle to party unity and commitment; two remain. One is the labor movement which is threatening to endorse a candidate in advance of the Democratic convention, with the implied threat that if labor's choice is not accepted, labor may not support the party nominee. (No idle threat, even if left unstated, if one recalls labor's abandonment of Senator McGovern in 1972.)

THE THIRD difficulty remaining for the party is that of developing a coherent economic policy and of bridging the gap between the militant, defense minded elements in the party, some of them still bent on justifying their support of the Vietnam War, and those who favor a move away from militarism and excess armaments.

With Kennedy out, the party, one might say, has one down and two to go.

Justice

Under pressure to better protect the president, the Secret Service and the FBI has proposed a precedent-setting surveillance system that is drawing fire from civil libertarians.

The proposed system would authorize use of the FBI's National Crime Information Center, a massive computer network of 64,000 state, local and federal criminal justice agencies, to monitor law-abiding citizens if the Secret Service considers them a threat to the president.

Secret Service claims the proposed program, which could go into effect early next year without congressional approval, is a "potentially valuable tool," but civil liberties advocates compare it to the FBI's political surveillance in the 1970s and charge that it would be the first step toward using the Information Center as an intelligence tool — something for which it was never intended. — PNS

RESOURCES

A Death Penalty Information Packet contains eleven leaflets with facts, quotations, articles, and a list of organizations working against the death penalty. Supported by the Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program, it is possible to offer the packet at a below-cost price: \$1 each; 75¢ for orders of five or more. Order from Institute for Southern Studies, PO Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

Prison Literature in America by H. Bruce Franklin is the first study of the writings of those imprisoned. Franklin traces the influence of slave songs and narratives from the convict work song to *I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang* to *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* to the poetry of the Attica rebels. He examines the impact of imprisonment on such major writers as Jack London, Chester Himes, Malcolm Braly, Julian Hawthorne, Agnes Smedley, and Herman Melville, among others. A companion volume, is **American Prisoners and Ex-Prisoners: Their Writings—An Annotated Bibliography of Published Works, 1798-1981**, an exhaustive listing, with annotations, of the works mentioned and discussed in *Prison Literature in America*. Both volumes are available in paperback from Lawrence Hill & Co., 520 Riverside Ave., Westport, CT 06880. The first volume is \$8.95; the second is \$4.95.

Overcrowded Time is a 48-page booklet that presents both a comprehensive, up-to-date analysis of the overcrowded prison situation and the range of possible solutions. Written by two journalists knowledgeable in criminal justice and published by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, the booklet will be distributed nationally to criminal justice policymakers, and is available to others free of charge by writing Gretchen Dykstra, Director of Communications, The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 250 Park Ave., New York, NY 10017; 212/986-7050.

—Jericho

Death row population is now up 1100 and appeals are running out on many of these prisoners. USA Today reports that some experts expect as many as three executions a week in the months ahead.

Military

A team of 30 troubleshooters has been sent to California to try to improve draft registration there. California has the lowest participation in the draft of any state; only 70 percent of eligible registrants have filed. The figure goes below sixty percent in the major cities. Says Colonel Donovan Burton, deputy state SS director: "We find a little different social atmosphere in the urban areas where minorities are concentrated, and it seems like that's where our figures get shot down. In our rural counties *** we have 99 percent compliance. *** It's a problem of communications."

Food

Frances Moore Lappe, writing in the Food First newsletter, reports on a recent trip to Sweden, where efforts have been made for many years to control nonfarm purchase of farmland. In 1945, Sweden passed a law which said that arable land could only be sold to farmers. Because of growing opposition from industry and the trade unions, a 1965 law liberalized access to farmland. Then ten years later, with farmland prices rising rapidly, pressure again mounted for restrictions, which were enacted in 1979. Says an official of the Federation of

Swedish farmers, "To buy farmland now you apply to a country board which decides who is eligible. You must have been a farmer for some years or have a certificate from an agriculture school. *** We have a saying that's really quite true: 'The farmers in Sweden will produce, not speculate.'"

Farm prices in Sweden are set by negotiations between the government, the farmers federation and representatives of consumer cooperatives, as well as the private food industry and trade unions.

Meanwhile, Nebraska last fall passed the first state constitutional amendment prohibiting further purchase of farmland and livestock operations by non-family farm corporations. Opponents to the amendment put up close to half million dollars to defeat it.

U.S. Progressive Periodicals Directory is a comprehensive directory of 380 national social justice periodicals from across the country, useful for obtaining publicity, subscription information, and for networking. Available from Progressive Education, PO Box 120574, Nashville, TN 37212; \$4.00 each or \$2.50 each for five or more.

§

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VIDEO SCREENING "To Sing Our Own Song"
A BBC documentary depicting the extremes of poverty and wealth and the quality of life in the Philippines under Ferdinand Marcos. Discussion led by Charito Planas, a Philippine human rights activist in exile, and formerly a director of the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines.

HOW VERMONT DEALT WITH THE KLAN

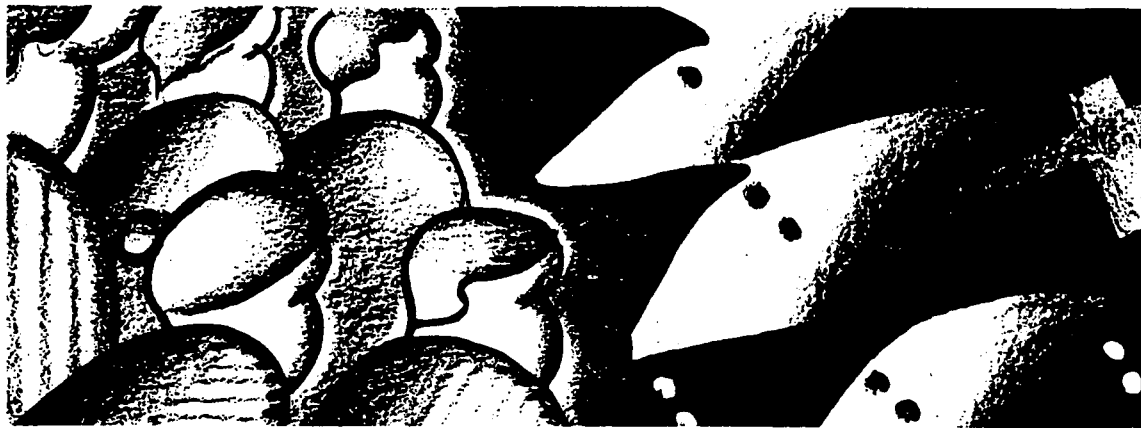


Illustration by Annie Weltzman/WIN.

by Marty Jezer

When a Connecticut-based coven of the Ku Klux Klan announced plans last spring to recruit in the small Green Mountain resort village of Wilmington, Vermont, the statewide Left split over what to do. But the ultimate coalescing of diverse groups and strategies resulted in mobilizing Vermonters as never before.

The Klan had chosen Wilmington after the conviction of a black man for the rape of a white woman the previous summer. As one of a number of brutal sexual assaults terrorizing women throughout the state, the racial aspect of this one was secondary, but the Klan hoped to exploit latent racism in the area. Given the dearth of third world Vermonters, the Klan was underplaying race, emphasizing, rather, the influence of "communism" in Vermont. "It's a fact," a Klan spokesman had told the press, "there are more communists in Vermont and New Jersey than in any other state."

While "communism" in the Garden State is beyond this writer's ken, the Green Mountain State does have its "Peoples' Republic" in socialist-led Burlington and majority support for the nuclear freeze. If these are indications of "communist" influence, then the Klan had found a gold mine. In fact, the Klan was a challenge many Vermonters felt they could not ignore. Though few blacks live in the state, the people of Vermont are very proud of their reputation for racial tolerance and acceptance of pluralism.

The immediate, predictable response of the Left was to call for a counter-demonstration in Wilmington. Four hours away, Burlington activists began to charter buses in preparation for organizing a large turnout. And with Burlington's socialist mayor, left/independent Aldermanic Council and large, active Left community, they knew they would have one.

But the people of Wilmington felt differently. They were angry that the Klan had chosen to recruit in their town, but they wanted to register their hostility in a quiet, dignified way. "Hate does not grow in Vermont's rocky soil," said local resident Verne Howe. Her statement was adopted as a theme and hung in the form of a banner in Wilmington's main street. At this point the activists in nearby Brattleboro realized that a raucous confrontation, such as surely would take place, would violate the sensibilities of the local people—and compromise their own efforts at outreach and credibility. They decided to respect Wilmington's wish not to hold a counter-demonstration.

Sensitivity to Local Population

If the Klan came to Vermont a few years ago, anti-Klan demonstrators from around the state would have rushed into the fray with little regard for local opinion or longterm perspective. But during the past two years, the Vermont Left has begun to see itself more and more as a statewide force with a common purpose, and a number of inter-related networks have emerged, uniting progressive labor organizers, peace and Latin American solidarity activists, community organizers,

and Citizens' Party members. It was this new cooperative dynamic that led Burlington activists to check in with their comrades in Brattleboro before making final plans to protest in Wilmington. When the Brattleboro activists suggested they stay home, the debate was on.

Fortunately, a meeting of a new statewide organization, the Vermont Coalition for Jobs, Peace and Justice (CJPJ) was scheduled the Saturday between the Klan's announcement and its scheduled arrival. Organized primarily by the United Electrical Workers (UE), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and individual community activists intent on improving community and labor cooperation, CJPJ drew delegates from all over the state and enabled them to hash out their differences regarding Wilmington. Two major perspectives emerged.

The Left, argued the "grassrooters," is continually reacting to this or that new outrage with militant, one-shot demonstrations that usually lack follow-up and ignore the importance of credibility with the local community. Direct confrontative action is more a carry-over from the 60s than a thoughtful response to the current situation. Too many activists, they charged, would rather demonstrate than organize and the relatively impersonal nature of building demonstrations is easy compared to the tedious, unglamorous and time-consuming work of grassroots organizing—be it educational, electoral or coalition building. The risks involved, the chance of being put down or snubbed by a co-worker or neighbor, can be humiliating and deeply personal. But the Left will be ineffectual until it gives up its revolutionary illusions and gets down to nuts and bolts.

Their critique continued: The subculture of the Left isolates it, preventing it from planning events, programs and protest demonstrations with other people's sensibilities in mind. And confronting the Klan alone will only reinforce the Left's isolation, allowing an opening for moderates to denounce "both extremes." (Anyway, a counter-demonstration might only serve to publicize the Klan's appearance by increasing its media coverage.) The Left assumes that only it truly understands the menace of the Klan, that only it can organize the appropriate response. But after more than 20 years of civil rights organizing, they concluded, including themselves in the critique, if we alone are responding to the Klan, it is time to look at what is amiss in the way we educate and organize.

For its part, the "Left"—e.g. the Burlington activists who wanted a confrontative demonstration—maintained that the Klan was, after all, a national problem. They felt that the "grassrooters" tend to romanticize native Vermonters as a fount of wisdom and tolerance while falling into the trap of seeing themselves and other activists as "outside agitators."

Without a counter-demonstration to nip it in the bud, they argued, the Klan might sense support for its presence in Vermont and, using Wilmington as a possible foothold, begin to stage bigger rallies and cross burnings as well. This would necessitate a massive, militant response. Moreover, they felt that Vermont Governor Snelling's recent condemnation of a counter-demonstration made such an action crucial, lest the state feel it could somehow define the limits of free assembly.

Coalition, Compromise

The outcome of the CJPJ meeting was a compromise between the Burlington "leftists" and their more moderate colleagues. It was decided that an organized group would rally in Wilmington before the Klan arrived, making a pointed, quiet exit when they appeared. This would have dramatic simplicity and appeal to the local people who feared violence.

But news of other groups' intentions to confront the Klan in Wilmington by the "thousands" effectively destroyed this plan. Groups like the Boston-based International Committee Against Racism, together with the "Keene State Communists" threatened violence (a charge readily picked up by the media), insisting there was only one way to deal with the Klan.

The Burlington contingent, returning home to meet with others, settled on staying out of Wilmington and organizing an anti-Klan rally in Burlington. Mayor Sanders proclaimed as "Anti-Klan Day" the Saturday of the Klan's action in Wilmington, and 400 people attended a successful rally. Across the mountains from Brattleboro, in Bennington, another rally took place.

Meanwhile, a surprising coalition was taking shape in Brattleboro. While the leftists from the community had been negotiating with their comrades from Burlington, Brattleboroans not usually associated with activism or the Left—members of the small Jewish community, liberal churchwomen and men, merchants, businesspeople and professionals—were getting together, disturbed about news of the Klan. Ultimately, a meeting was set up between this moderate network and the local Left.

This ad hoc anti-Klan coalition met for the first time three days before the Klan's arrival. Brattleboro being a small town, everybody knew of everyone else, but few had worked together before. Yet it was with relative ease that the moderate/left coalition was able to agree on a rally to be held the evening before the Klan's arrival on the Brattleboro Commons. The rally, it was decided, would be short, with songs and brief speeches. The leftists were wary of politicians as speakers, but ultimately accepted one representative each from the Democratic, Republican and Citizens Parties. The moderates, for their part, were wary of a strong counter-cultural tone. Finally, a politically diverse format was agreed upon, and spirits soared. This common effort had inspired a real feeling of solidarity. The 300 people gathered at the Brattleboro Common two nights later were a diverse group, and listened with equanimity to speakers from the ministerial association, the AFL-CIO, the Women's Crisis Center, the Elks, the business community (who actually denounced the Left as being similar to the Klan), and three political parties.

Civil Rights Roots

Before the rally, Jewish Brattleboroans had been particularly upset about the coming of the Klan, understanding that its ideology was not just directed against blacks or "communists" but that it threatened democratic values essential to

Marty Jezer has lived in Brattleboro, Vermont, since 1968. He is the author of *The Dark Ages: Life in the United States 1945-1960* [South End Press].

From WIN Magazine, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217. Subscriptions: \$20.

everyone's well-being. It also has a history of anti-Semitism. In the process of planning the rally, the civil rights movement of the 1960s was held up as exemplary. Trying to express the tone they wanted the rally to take, many of the moderates recalled the 1963 march on Washington and other nonviolent civil rights actions. The words of Martin Luther King were quoted time and again.

The breadth of the coalition allowed room for consciousness-raising. At one meeting a lesbian woman protested the silence surrounding the Klan's hostility towards gays. Tension filled the room and a minister responded pointedly that the rally "should not become a forum for special interest groups." The leftists then jumped in, explaining, "But that's what this rally is about. The Klan divides people: If they're allowed to pick on one group, they'll have the power to pick on us all. We have to stand together." The argument carried—everyone realized that fighting the Klan meant fighting not only racial but sexual intolerance, too. (At the same time, it should be noted, feminist consciousness was low, and such groups as the League of Women Voters, Churchwomen United, the American Association of University Women and local feminist groups were for the most part ignored in the search for speakers.)

The militant Left maintained a radical presence at its anti-Klan confrontation in Wilmington the following day. But it's doubtful if anybody was

listening. 15 robed Klansmen, 80 state police in riot gear, and about 150 counter-demonstrators showed up. Unable to break through police lines they contented themselves with chanting "The cops, the courts, the Ku Klux Klan—all a part of the boss's plan." When the Klan left, the state seemed to breathe a collective sigh of relief. Not only because the Klan failed to attract any local recruits but also because the counter-demonstrators were gone and no violence had occurred.

The Klan Returns

Two weeks later, Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkerson showed up in Brattleboro in his Mercedes Benz. He applied for and received a permit to hold a rally at the Brattleboro Commons on Saturday, the very next day. But this time the people of Brattleboro were ready: more than 500 people showed up at the Commons the next day. For the two hour duration of the Klan's presentation, these unaffiliated local people from all walks of life jeered, heckled and cursed the Klan, understanding what they represented, expressing their outrage that these racists in bedsheets thought they could gain support in Vermont.

At the end of the rally, local ministers led the protesters in a circle around the bandstand on which

the Klan was speaking. Everyone held hands and sang "We Shall Overcome." The moment was electrifying. Next morning's *Brattleboro Reformer* described what happened. "... [A]t that point, a cauldron of emotion and the impact of the words, 'We Shall Overcome,' was so powerful that probably very few people—even the Klansmen—will ever forget it. One by one, as the chant continued and grew in emotion, the 19 Klansmen and women and two of their children filed off the bandstand, wearing their ... symbols of the Invisible Empire, the symbols, equally, of hatred and violence. They were not marching off with their hoods held high. They were, instead, slinking into the fading light of a Vermont spring afternoon. And looking at them, you knew they realized what had happened to them—that their mission to Vermont had been a failure."

The Klan will be back to Vermont. And surely they will find recruits even in our tolerant hills. But Vermonters have spoken and their message was eloquent and clear. And by holding back and allowing local people to respond to the Klan in their chosen style, the Left enabled this to happen. There is a lesson in this: by pre-empting protest and determining the culture of dissent, the Left drives good, decent Americans away from activism and out of progressive politics. In most parts of the country, anti-Klan activity is the monopoly of the Left. But in Vermont, it now has the possibility of becoming a native tradition, an authentic people's movement. **Q**

THE GAY DISEASE

Linda Tontini

Chris arrives at work when darkness still curtains the streets of San Francisco's financial district. At 5:30am, he must worry about feeding the hungry denizens of banks and brokerage houses who will march into the diner where he works as a short order cook.

But a lot more is weighing on his mind than bacon and eggs. Only two weeks ago Chris was diagnosed as having Kaposi's Sarcoma—one of the often-fatal "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome" diseases that have unaccountably chosen homosexual men as their major targets.

"I ask myself, 'why me?' But I know it wasn't anything personal," he says, tapping the table with both his index fingers for emphasis. "I try to keep a positive attitude."

Although Chris' job pays poorly and provides no health insurance, he has struck a bargain with the Kaposi's Sarcoma clinic of the University of California San Francisco Medical Center: He receives experimental injections of interferon in hopes that it will curb the disease's course.

But the traumatizing physical effects on its victims is only half of the AIDS story. Fear of the disease is also beginning to radically alter the behavior of many homosexual men. As one gay writer puts it, "AIDS can put an end to certain aspects of gay lifestyle."

Indeed, far more than the new right's religious fury, AIDS has provoked many gays to reassess such matters as their sexual habits and drug use, which are thought to play some not-yet-understood role in the diseases. Observes Marty LeVine, a New York sociologist who has studied gay urban areas for several years, "three years ago it was fashionable to go to some place like the Sex Club or to the bath houses, and when people went dancing they often used drugs." Now, he says, "a new set of norms is evolving. There is emerging support for coupling and dating."

A San Francisco City Hall employee confirmed LeVine's conclusions, but with some qualification: "While I won't give up my nights of abandon, I'll do it less often. I am stopping to think about what I am doing to my body."

When the AIDS scare first erupted, a simple stereotype emerged of its typical victim. He was a "fast track gay," habituated to cruising and often to drugs, as well. (The National Center for Disease Control in Atlanta conducted a study of 50 AIDS-afflicted individuals in late 1981, indicating that the disease's victims had a significantly greater number

of sexual partners than those unaffected.) Jim Geary, a staff member at the Shanti Project, a counseling service for terminally-ill patients in San Francisco, said, "There was a definite panic in the gay community to put [the blame] on a person or lifestyle."

The "fast track" theory allowed gays with a more restrained lifestyle to feel safe—until the theory was shattered by the spread of AIDS in their own ranks.

On June 7, Bob Reynolds returned from vacation to the large San Francisco company which had employed him for 16 years. Shortly before leaving, he had seen his physician about two strange purplish spots on his ankles. Fully expecting a clean bill of health, he called the doctor and was informed that he had Kaposi's Sarcoma.

"I denied to myself that I had it," said Reynolds. "I didn't fit the stereotype. I don't drink. I don't smoke." Reynolds' activities radiated health: He played volleyball, and first base on a softball team, and often went square-dancing until chemotherapy sapped his strength. In addition, Reynolds has been involved in a stable relationship for three years, and while he was not "celibate," he says he was also far from promiscuous.

Nevertheless, Reynolds views the disease as a sign that changes were due, even in his own moderate behavior. "Gay men are often geared toward sex,"

he says. "There are so many more things in life."

Exceptions like Reynolds have thrown a monkey wrench into the AIDS stereotype, and left doctors more mystified than ever about these diseases. One current medical hunch implicates "cytomegalovirus," a herpes-related virus which is transmissible through body fluids. The fact that those with restrained living habits have now contracted AIDS suggests that everybody—even heterosexuals—may be at risk.

Dr. Ronald Grossman has the dubious distinction of treating the largest number of AIDS patients in New York. Currently he also has 60 patients who show the earmarks of AIDS—thoroughly depressed immune systems, fevers, swollen glands—but are not yet confirmed AIDS victims. To Grossman, the proliferation of these symptoms means that changes in habits for much of the homosexual population are of paramount importance. "The reasons are not moral or religious, but for their health. Unfortunately," he adds, "No doctor has the right to tell a patient to reduce his sex life. We are in a terrible dilemma."

The recommended changes, moreover, don't come easy. Helen Schietinger, clinical coordinator of the Kaposi's Sarcoma clinic where Chris is treated, says, "These men have invested a lot of energy in this lifestyle. Now they have to back off. They need new tools for survival." Laments Chris, "I know too many gays who want a stable relationship, but don't know how to get it."

One example of the personal pressures thus generated lies in the tale of Robert, who came out of the closet at an early age, made a bee-line for San Francisco after graduation from high school, and was quickly absorbed into its gay street scene. His relationships were usually as impermanent as his living arrangements in transient hotels.

When Robert was diagnosed as an AIDS victim, he was advised to restrict his sexual activity and use of drugs. But because he had severed all family ties, Robert had to deal with the conflicts raised by a terminal illness without parents or siblings. In addition, the street life—his own life—was taboo. The result: He turned even more to drugs. "He wasn't used to crisis," says one friend. "He didn't have a social network to fall back on."

New York's Dr. Grossman feels that once the "wave of panic burns out, gay lifestyle will modify itself in a very striking and positive way." But those days may be too distant for many AIDS victims.

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Affirmative Action

Northern California's first sperm bank—the first anywhere to be run by women—has opened its doors.

Run by the Feminist Women's Health Center in Oakland, the bank will serve infertile couples along with lesbians and other single women. It will also receive and keep sperm for men who plan to undergo vasectomies.

Medical coordinator Pat Parker says the bank was started because existing sperm banks did not provide donor sperm from people of color, and shied away from inseminating single women. Clinic patients, she adds, will not have to be wealthy to use the feminist facility.

Parker says that since the bank was announced, the clinic's telephones have been "going like crazy." 99.8% of the calls, she says, have been enthusiastic. Half of the calls, Parker says, have been from men who want to donate sperm.

* * *

AMERICAN JOURNAL

David Armstrong

Ronald Reagan's Thanksgiving turkey—the hastily-abandoned proposal to tax unemployment benefits—stunned many people with its apparent callousness, but it shouldn't have. The suggested tax was fully in keeping with Reagan's attitude toward working and poor people, an attitude steeped in the Puritan ethic of America's past.

Believers in the Puritan ethic maintain that God helps those that help themselves. If you work hard, they say, you'll be rewarded in this life with creature comforts. If you tarry, you'll be stuck on the lower rungs of the economic ladder. And if—heaven forbid—you are without work at all, you are doubly damned. The government could give you a handout, sure, but that would only sap your initiative and destroy your will to succeed. So Uncle Sam has to make programs like unemployment insurance as uncomfortable as possible, for your own good.

Never mind that the logic driving that line of thinking has been derailed by history. Never mind that plant closings and technological changes have impoverished whole communities and wiped out entire occupations. Never mind that Reagan's chainsaw massacre of social services has eliminated the training programs that would enable unemployed workers to find new jobs. If you're unemployed, you've got no one to blame but yourself. Or so the theory goes.

Fortunately, the American people are wising up to the punitive illogic of the Puritan ethic. It was heartening to see the swift rejection of the unemployment tax by an aroused public. But the

10 million unemployed Americans—and the millions more who may eventually lose their jobs, courtesy of Reaganomics—need more than emotion to protect their rights. They need organization, formulated by and for unemployed workers. Many Americans belonged to such organizations in the 1930s, and their efforts helped inspire some of the most important reforms of the New Deal. One of them was unemployment insurance.

As early as 1837, 20,000 jobless workers demonstrated in Philadelphia for national unemployment insurance. In later depressions, in 1857, 1873, 1884 and 1893, jobless Americans again took to the streets, demanding that the government do something to combat severe unemployment. Private charity—the remedy that Reagan urges on Americans today—was even then unable to meet public needs in hard times.

When the Great Depression of the 1930s hit home, jobless workers staged sit-ins at relief offices and helped families whose breadwinners had been thrown out of work to resist evictions. Most of those early actions were spontaneous, breaking out when people just couldn't take it anymore. But as the depression dragged on, many Americans realized that there was strength in organization and strategic advantage to be had by planning their actions. Together they formed unemployment councils and self-help groups around the country.

Their tactics were often bold and effective. In Chicago, organized unemployed workers won raises in jobless pay. In Colorado, jobless workers literally chased state senators from their chambers

in a successful effort to reinstate relief payments. The mayors of major cities such as Detroit, pressed from below by organizations of the unemployed, pleaded with Washington to take over jobless payments from financially squeezed local governments.

The pressure intensified in 1935, when a variety of organizations united to form the Workers' Alliance of America. That same year, the federal government instituted national unemployment insurance.

The Workers' Alliance largely abandoned the confrontational tactics of its forerunners in favor of lobbying Congress and the White House. Shortly after several Alliance leaders accepted jobs in the Roosevelt administration, the WAA disbanded. When the Alliance ended in 1941, the profit system its more radical members opposed on principle remained intact. So did high unemployment. But the organization and its predecessors succeeded in cushioning the unemployed against the hardest blows of worldwide economic collapse.

A present-day version of the old unemployed councils—ideally operated in alliance with organized labor—could help ensure that the precarious rights of today's jobless Americans are protected and expanded. They could also help give Ronald Reagan himself a taste of unemployment two years from now. With any luck, he'll have plenty of free time in which to contemplate the Puritan ethic.

CHARLES MCDOWELL

Time Magazine announced last month that its 1982 Man of the Year "is not a man at all. It is a machine: the computer."

Fair enough. If Time wants to go beyond humankind for the first time since it began making these selections in 1927 (Charles Lindbergh), that is up to Time. The magazine makes a pretty good case for its choice: "There are some occasions ... when the most significant force in a year's news is not a single individual but a process, and a widespread recognition by a whole society that this process is changing the course of all other processes."

So Menachem Begin, Margaret Thatcher, Paul A. Volcker and E.T. are relegated to the also-rans, and a computer reigns on the cover of Time as Machine of the Year.

★ ★ ★

When I got word of this development Sunday evening, on the television news, I called an emergency meeting of my committee for Monday morning. I refer, of course, to the secret committee that picks the Forgotten Man of the Year. We have been making this selection for more than a decade as a sort of counterpoint to Time's selection. As a matter of fact, we had already made a tentative choice — a typically anonymous American whose petty triumphs and failures in 1982 failed to attract the attention of any segment of the news media.

The Committee on the Forgotten Man of the Year met in my office, around my desk, Monday morning. It

was a disconcerted and dispirited bunch. We quickly agreed that crowning a Forgotten Man of the Year would not make much sense when there was no Man of the Year to play him off against.

Some members of the committee were pretty mad at Time

magazine, to tell the truth. They argued that Time had copped out on tradition and fair play by picking a machine. One member made a formal motion that we change our charter and nominate a Magazine of the Year. He thought Newsweek would be a nice choice, although he could think of qualities to commend U.S. News and World Report and Mother Jones.

Some of the other members thought we ought to get away from magazines; they did not want to end a tough year on a vindictive note. There were suggestions that we pick a Flower of the Year, a Cow of the Year and a Lame-Duck Congress of the Year, among others.

But cooler heads prevailed in the end. The committee gradually came to realize that we should follow our historic theme — we had to stand up for the uninfluential, the uncelebrated and indeed the unnoticed in an era of media hype. So the committee turned to the task of selecting the Forgotten Machine of the Year.

★ ★ ★

The envelope, please. The Forgotten Machine of the Year for 1982 is the 1974 Dodge Dart automobile.

This is one of the most efficient, reliable, economical and unpretentious machines in wide use in the United States today.

Especially in the six-cylinder, four-door, faded-green model, it is a familiar symbol of the middle American way of life. But it is so plain and workaday by nature that many Americans do not notice it enough to realize they are familiar with it.

The 1974 Dodge Dart is not a classic car, not a collector's item, not even a car one might drive in 1982 to attract attention to one's humility or eccentricity. It is simply a car that endures, that starts, that gets there.

No member of the Reagan administration, the Democratic Study Group or the Time magazine staff is likely to drive a 1974 Dodge Dart, and this is their loss, for it is a remarkable machine that competes admirably with Japanese and fancy European technology and quality, and at much lower cost.

The reassuring and even astonishing state of preservation of most of these cars, internally and externally; their ease of repair and its infrequent necessity; their relative comfort and steadiness on the road — all of these attributes, along with their economy, modesty and general good spirit, inspire us to remember in 1982 that some things worked out pretty well before computers took over everything, and that none of us has to have made the cover of Time to have had another pretty good year, everything considered.

[Richmond Times-Dispatch]

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BASIC TAP DANCING: Here is a clearly illustrated guide to the art of tap dancing. There are tips for buying the best tap shoes, instructions for basic rhythm drills, explanations of rolls, pickups and dance routines. 175 detailed photos make it perfect as an at-home practice manual. \$3.50

HOW TO SAVE A LIFE USING CPR: A very important guide that could prove invaluable to you some day. Includes a condensed guide for emergency use and two wallet cards to clip out. \$3.95

IDEAS FOR KITCHEN STORAGE: Space saving and problem solving ideas for every party of the kitchen. \$3.95

CARING FOR YOUR UNBORN CHILD: This guide tells you what you need to know about the healthy progress of your baby during pregnancy, provides accurate, detailed information on what harmful substances to avoid and suggests how to make the most of the experience of carrying your child. \$2.95

THE RIF SURVIVAL HANDBOOK: How to Manage Your Money if You're Unemployed. John May has written a book about the money side of unemployment and the search for a new job. It shows you how to organize yourself to make ends meet, to handle your cash to gain confidence in yourself and to free yourself to concentrate on what's really important: finding a new job. Covers the field from budgeting to borrowing to bankruptcy. John May is president of a financial planning and management consulting firm that advises government and private organizations. He has run RIF seminars at agencies and organizations for workers losing their jobs. \$4.95.

Maryland

CHESAPEAKE: James A. Michener. This is, of course, the book that was the first work of fiction in ten years to make it to the number one spot in the New York Times's best seller list. But its subject matter gives it even greater appeal to those in the Washington area. A fine novel and a way to learn more about our bay. \$3.95

BEAUTIFUL SWIMMERS: Watermen, Crabs and the Chesapeake Bay. William Warner's 1977 Pulitzer Prize winning study of the Chesapeake Bay and the watermen who work there and the crabs they catch. \$3.50

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY FISH AND FOWL COOKBOOK: A treasury of old and new recipes from Maryland's Eastern Shore, home of some of the most robust and distinctive cuisine to be found anywhere in the United States. \$14.95 is the list price but we're selling it for \$12.95

Sports

CHAMPIONSHIP RACQUETBALL: A complete guide to the sport featuring skills, strategy, conditioning and drills. Part of the West Point Sports/Fitness Series. \$4.95

Humor

THE I HATE PREPPIES HANDBOOK: A Guide for the Rest of Us. If you're tired of hearing about preppies this is the book for you. \$3.95

BOOKSHELF BARGAINS!

ALL SUPPLIES LIMITED!

THE COMPLETE TURKEY: Sandra Boynton's delightful cartoon guide to the variety of turkeys you will meet in your daily life. \$3.95 \$2

BICYCLE CAMPING: A complete, practical and readable guide to the art of camping by bicycle. \$9.95 \$2

THE OFFICIAL I HATE CATS BOOK: Ex-cat lover Skip Morrow has concocted, with acid pen, a diabolical collection of feline fantasies -- some of which you may recognize as your own. Others will inspire you to new heights -- or depths. Perfect for the cat-hater you love. \$3.95 \$2

THE GREAT AMERICAN BOOK OF SIDEWALK, STOOP, DIRT, CURB AND ALLEY GAMES: 60 of the best games that all kids should know how to play. A classic collection. Fun for adults too. \$3.95 now only \$1.1

THE OFFICIAL SCABBLE PLAYERS DICTIONARY: The book is a two-volume dictionary of two to eight letter words that will settle every argument. \$3.95 \$2

COUNTRY INNS OF AMERICA: UPPER NEW ENGLAND

COUNTRY INNS OF AMERICA: LOWER NEW ENGLAND

COUNTRY INNS OF AMERICA: NEW YORK AND MID-ATLANTIC

Each one of these beautifully illustrated guides contains descriptions of more than 40 country inns and over 100 color photographs. \$9.95 each. \$1.00

THE SOLAR HOME BOOK: A guide to solar energy uses in housing. Was \$7.50 now \$3.00 \$2.00

BACH'S LUNCH: A collection of both exotic and simple recipes for your next picnic or backyard brunch. This book is a classic in Cleveland where it is published to benefit the Cleveland Orchestra. Originally \$3.50, a few copies are left at \$1.00

NON-PRESCRIPTION DRUGS AND THEIR SIDE-EFFECTS: a complete family guide to more than 500 of the most frequently purchased over-the-counter medications -- their positive uses and their potential dangers -- as described by government agencies, pharmaceutical associations and the manufacturers. \$4.95 \$3.00 \$2.1

RAPPIN' AND STYLIN' OUT: Communication in Urban Black America. This well-organized collection of articles traces the African roots in nonverbal communication, speaker-audience response, music and poetry. -- Library Journal. \$3.95 \$1.00 \$2.00 \$1.00

A LEGAL GUIDE FOR LESBIAN AND GAY COUPLES: This practical book covers all the important legal aspects of living and working together as a gay/lesbian couple. Straight-forward information explains the legal options and alternatives of child custody and visitation rights, relating to former spouses, foster children and adoption, buying and selling houses, transferring deeds, moving on, dividing property, living-together agreements and planning for death. \$10.95 \$8.00 \$7.00 \$6.00 \$5.00 \$4.00

SPOTTERS GUIDE TO ROCKS AND MINERALS
SPOTTERS GUIDE TO THE FLOWERS OF NORTH AMERICA: Each one of these books is patterned on the Spotters Handbook listed elsewhere. These books contain scorecards for keeping track of your finds, background information and good illustrations. \$10.95 \$8.00 \$7.00 \$6.00 \$5.00 \$4.00

THE DEATH AND LIFE OF MALCOLM X: By Peter Goldman. For this second edition of a major work on one of the most important black leaders of this century, the author, a senior editor of Newsweek, has added a substantial epilogue which argues convincingly that three of the five accomplices in Malcolm X's assassination in 1965 are still free, while a fourth is serving a short sentence for an unrelated offense. Meanwhile, despite the efforts of William Kunstler and others, two men who are probably innocent remain in prison "wasted like pawns sacrificed in somebody else's wild chess game," as one of them puts it. \$7.95 \$6.00 \$5.00 \$4.00 \$3.00 \$2.00

POPULIST JIM HIGHTOWER TALKS ABOUT HIS VICTORY

Ronald Reagan's election demonstrates what happens when Democrats and progressives cede pocketbook issues to the right. Reagan scored heavily with voters on economics issues by talking about a subject they care about: the high taxes they have to pay. That his remedy is actually designed largely to benefit the rich and large corporations rather than the average taxpayer does not justify progressives ignoring the lesson Reagan's strategy provides.

One Democrat who did talk pocketbook issues in 1980 was Jim Hightower in Texas. Spurning conventional wisdom that a candidate running as an economic populist cannot do well in Texas, Hightower nearly won a seat on an obscure but powerful agency called the Railroad Commission, which regulates the state's oil, gas, pipeline, and transportation industries. This year, Hightower ran for Agriculture Commissioner — an important post in what is one of the biggest agriculture states. This time he won by a sizable margin, defeating the incumbent Democrat in the primary and his Republican opponent in the general election.

Hightower's strategy is simple. "We're building a coalition of gougees. I mean the people who are being gouged by the big boys — the big corporations and the special interests who are getting rich" at the expense of everyone else. In both races, Hightower created a coalition of voters that cut across traditional voting patterns. Hightower carried Dallas, Ft. Worth, and a good deal of rural Texas. As he likes to explain, his support came from both "the bean sprout eaters and the snuff dippers."

Hightower's approach can be easily applied to tax issues. To change the tax system, he advises, "You have to take your issues to the people. Don't be afraid of the issues, the people agree with you." Tax reformers will get people interested in trying to make the tax system more fair by taking this approach, he says. Don't spend your time writing reports for academic conferences or making speeches in Washington, D.C., he argues.

Hightower has demonstrated that by taking an issue to voters — whether they are in the big cities or in the rural areas and whether they are conservative or liberal — and by talking about it in a popular way, candidates can get voters to listen to their message. This is a lesson tax reformers must heed.

After attending state college, Hightower landed on the Washington staff of Texas' progressive Senator, Ralph Yarborough. From there, he went on to found the Agribusiness Accountability Project, wrote two books, and was Fred Harris' campaign manager in the 1976 presidential campaign. After that, Hightower returned to Texas, becoming editor of the Texas Observer, a post he resigned to run for the Railroad Commission. He then headed the Texas Consumer Association before running for Agriculture Commissioner.

People & Taxes editor Tyler Bridges conducted this interview.

P & T: Are you satisfied with the Democrats' alternatives to Reaganomics?

Hightower: Well, I am with some of them, although there is not a (single) Democratic alternative. There are some things coming out of Congress and there are some alternatives that some of the various think tanks are putting out. But we are in a period of transition, and the Democratic alternatives are going to bubble up from the grass roots level.



People who are getting elected county commissioner, governor, to state office like this one, will be the people who shape the next strong Democratic thrust. (Remember that) the New Deal didn't come up with a coherent set of programs, it evolved over a period of Roosevelt's tenure, a lot of it from the states.

P & T: Do you think that what is going to bubble up is going to be the alternatives that you propose or the alternatives that conservative businessmen (who call themselves Democrats) come up with?

Hightower: I think there's going to be all kinds of them. And I am now in a position to be a part of that bubbling process. And that's where Progressives have not been in the past. We've been in think tanks in Washington — mostly in Washington, New York, Malibu, and places like that — producing papers, rather than out here grappling with the real problems.

Out of this experience will come some ideas worth keeping and possibly trying to translate to a national level four years to 12 years from now. Out of this kind of boiling cauldron of ideas out here will come a new Democratic platform.

P & T: What is your advice then to those people who have a lot of money and are looking at the different races? Where should they give their money and their time?

Hightower: Well, my advice has always been to put it into state and local races. I tell contributors at the national level that they need to look back for two or three reasons. One, you get more bang for your buck both in terms of the impact in the politics but also the return on what you get when you win. Two, we have to develop a pool of talent around the country, which is not all congressional. We have to develop people who are going to have administrative experience and programmatic experience.

A \$5,000 contribution to a national campaign — presidential or senate — is a drop in the bucket. But a \$5,000 contribution to a (race for) land commissioner or tax officer or agriculture commissioner, is

a big contribution that will go a long way. And it will produce victories that are worth having.

That's where the new policies will come from. They will come out over ten years of trial and error out in the countryside here.

P & T: So you think progressives have been concentrating too much on the national level?

Hightower: Oh, yeah, absolutely. (We should remember that) Reaganomics didn't come overnight. It was built over a 15-year period during which it bubbled at the grass roots level and then came forward.

P & T: Until the election, which demonstrated that people generally see Reaganomics as having failed, the left has not done as well as the right on pocket book issues? Why is that?

Hightower: Well, they haven't run on it. Democrats just haven't gone after it, but that's what I did in my 1980 campaign for railroad commissioner, with the first campaign since Ralph Yarborough's (senate races) in the '50s and '60s in Texas to stake out that territory.

(I say) "you can mealy mouth all you want, but here's the truth as I see it. And as I see it, they're ripping us off. And here's who they are and how they're doing it, and specifically what I'm talking about, your utility bill, your farm balance sheet, your main street businesses."

And what I demonstrated in the railroad commissioner race and carried to a conclusion in the agriculture commissioner race is that that is the mainstream constituency in Texas politics. But until I began to do it, nobody was running on it. There were liberals and other people who talked about it, but no one was taking it head on, forcefully planting the flag, and saying "This is where I stand, does everybody agree?"

P & T: Do you think liberals have been afraid of the issues?

Hightower: They haven't been afraid of the issues, but they've been afraid to take them to the people. There has been an elitist hint to the thing. We've come to our issues intellectually, thinking people don't understand and don't agree with them.

And so there's a tendency by liberals everywhere to say, well, you know, I'll go out and talk to the ACLU about this, but I sure don't want to have to go to the Lions Club. But if you're going to win, if you're going to influence policy, much less make policy, you've got to also get the snuff dippers. And I'm getting them by saying the same thing to them that I say to the ACLU.

My daddy calls himself a conservative. But if you talk to him about what the bank holding companies did to his business or if you talk to him about whether the oil companies have too much power in Washington, D.C., then you've tapped as progressive a human being as you need to tap. He's willing to work with you on those solutions; he's going to back you.

On these issues, you've got to understand that people listen to what you're saying, and that is part of what the liberals have not been willing to believe. They think that people just vote on emotions and on 30-second tv spots.

I found in my three campaigns that people listen to what a politician is saying. I had the most right-wing campaign run against me. They called me a communist, and they said the Cesar Chavez was running my campaign, and that George McGovern, Ralph Nader, Norman Lear, Jane Fonda, all these people were behind it all. And they just hammered and hammered away.

But people didn't believe it. And that's the important thing — people are looking at what you are saying. And they're listening to who's going to help them, who's making sense. And so that's the other beauty of this campaign. As I said, they are voting for that growl they are feeling in their stomach right now.

P & T: You have been called a Populist? What exactly is Populism? What does it mean?

Hightower: Basically, it is just a distrust of concentration of economic and political power. It is a people's expression from their own experience that if we let the big boys get too much of the money and power, they will use that against the rest of us.

The essence of Populism is decentralization. You constantly strive to bring the economy and the government to a local level. Populists look more at structural solutions than at ameliorative solutions. For example, if the system is unfair — as it obviously is — liberals say we must create benefit programs around the unfairness that will help people who fall out of the economic system. A Populist looks at it and says we must restructure the system itself so that the unfairness doesn't exist.

P & T: Does Populism exist in all the states of the Union?

Hightower: Some element of it does, although it's not always called that. Barney Frank does it in Boston. I couldn't do it in Boston, which is the other virtue of national contributors getting in local campaigns. You've got to have local expressions of progressive thought. That can't be done nationally.

P & T: How does Barney Frank's Populism differ from yours?

Hightower: It's a cultural experiment. You can't win without understanding the culture you're campaigning in. I come from a rural background, basically, and my comments are well suited in Texas — even in the urban areas. Though we are an urban state now, we are only one or two generations removed from the farm. (As a result,) my expressions strike a chord here that they certainly would not strike in Boston or Los Angeles.

Both country music among whites and black blues music were strongly anti-establishment and anti-big boy. It is still expressed, and I used that in my campaign because it strikes an immediate chord.

I used everything from the old Bob Wills song, "Take me back to Tulsa," ("A little bee sucks the blossom, big bee gets the honey, little man picks the cotton, big man gets the money.") all the way to a modern Jerry Reed country music song where a guy is out sick and sings, "She got the gold mine and I got the shaft." That is the constant refrain in the music. It's just constantly reinforced in the culture down here.

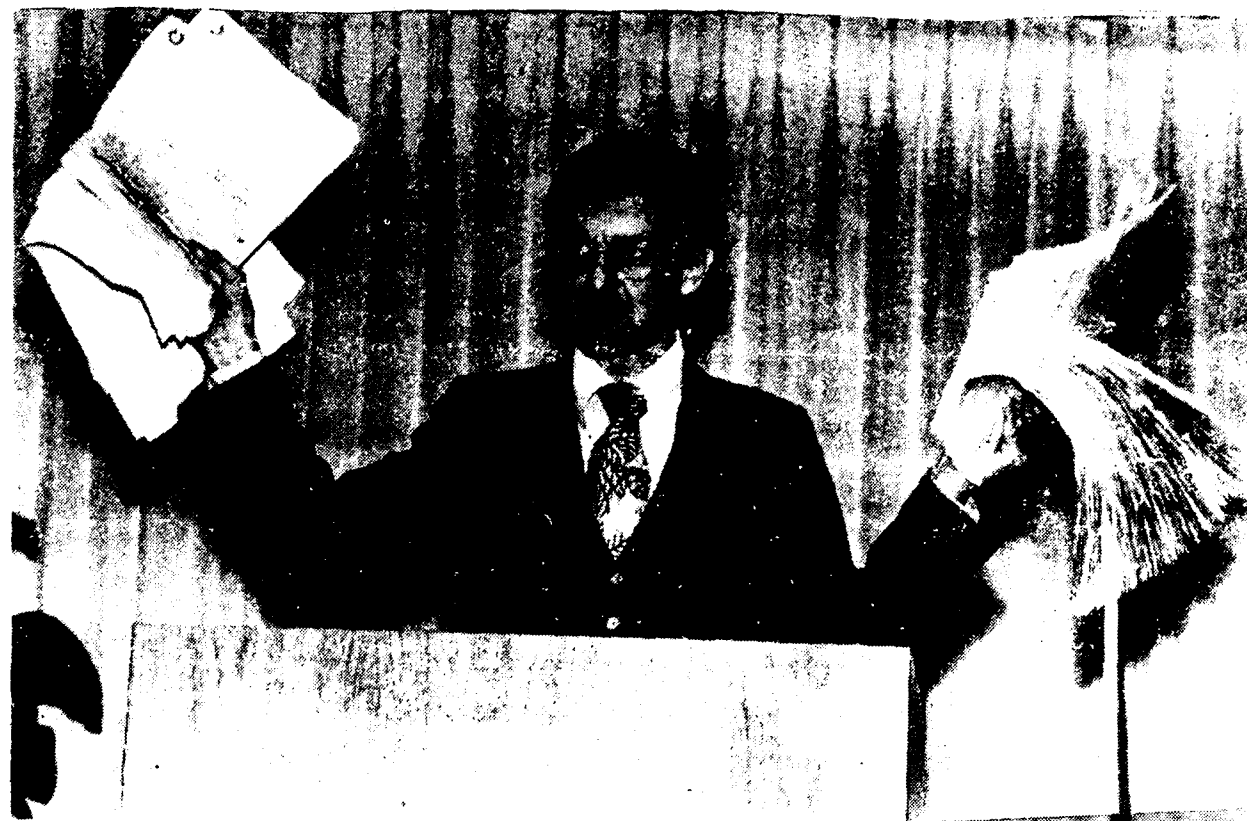
P & T: One thing I haven't understood is how when I look back to William Jennings Bryan and the Populist tradition then, the farmers and the small businessmen supported the Democrats. I don't understand why they don't support progressives anymore since Reaganomics definitely does not benefit them.

Hightower: But Democratic policies haven't benefitted them either for a long time. We have got to remember that politics isn't a game, it's either deciding who you're for and who you're going to try to help, and then doing that. We haven't been doing that. We've been talking about why small business ought to vote for Democrats rather than for Ronald Reagan.

But what have we done for them? A constituency is not going to be with you just because you say you're a sweet guy. They are going to be looking at their pocketbook, wanting to know what you have done. And that's our challenge. So, it's not their fault, it's ours.

P & T: It seems like you have built quite a diverse coalition of people. How do you do that?

Hightower: You do it by just talking issues — people aren't stupid. People who call themselves conservatives still don't want to lose their family farm. A conservative person in North Dallas — the suburban right-wing Republican area — believes that the family farmer ought to be able to make a profit, that they're out there working hard.



"You have to take your issues to the people. Don't be afraid of the issues, the people agree with you."

It's just truth. I mean, that's what I'd say to the progressives: "Don't be afraid of your issues, you've got to take your issues to the people. The people agree with you."

P & T: I have always thought of Texas as a conservative, big business type of state. You're saying it's not?

Hightower: No, it's not, it's not at all. John Connally wouldn't have won in Texas if he had ended up running against Ronald Reagan in the presidential campaign. Reagan appealed more to the main street Republican than to the Wall Street Republican, which is what Connally's whole business is.

This is not a Wall Street state at all. We have big oil and plenty of big corporations, but it is overwhelmingly a small scale capitalist state: family farmers, main street business people and workers. Texas has always been a Democratic state, which is not an accident.

But in the recent past, voters have not been offered much of the Democratic message, the old hard hitting "here's what's being done to us and who's doing it and why and you know it and I know it and let's go fight them" type of message.

P & T: How do you get this message across on an issue like taxes? How do you get people interested in this subject, which so many people don't want to know anything about it or are afraid of?

Hightower: Well, they want to know about it, they are mad about the taxes they have to pay. (As a result,) you do it the same way you do any other issue. You talk about the fairness issue and taxes is the number one way to go at it.

You frame a campaign around the basic concept of fairness. You go out there and talk to people. I mean go out there every day, eight to 12 stops, which is what I did for the last 15 months. And you don't just go to the universities. You also go to the courthouses and talk to those people.

P & T: And you think you can get people to focus on this kind of issue?

Hightower: People will focus on anything — that's the virtue of politics. You can write reports on it — I've written my share of public interest reports out of Washington, and you do get a little press attention on it. But there is nothing like making one race at a statewide level, saying, "This is my issue and I want to talk to you about it." You get them paying attention, listening to what you are

saying. Politics is, in my view, the greatest communication vehicle we have.

P & T: And you think you can get those rural farmers and those snuff dippers along with the big city liberals?

Hightower: Well, there's no doubt about it. They are paying the bills. People aren't stupid, that's what we have got to understand. They know what's happening to them. And they are looking for somebody who's willing to make a battle on their behalf.

P & T: Well, it's awfully refreshing to hear you say these things after all these negative ads and (negative campaigns). It's very impressive what you have done.

Hightower: Well, it's just doing it you know. There really isn't any magic to it. It's just a willingness to go out there and slog through a 15-month campaign and go talk to folks. It turns out to be true that people are progressive. ■

**"There really isn't any magic
... people are progressive"**

THE PRESS

Bob Alperin

- Election night inaccuracies flowing from TV exit polls didn't discourage the print media from making generalizations about voting behavior. The networks defend the polls by pointing to large number of voters questioned, but voters accosted after voting don't constitute a randomly-chosen sample. California pollster Field says exit polls have high refusal rates and that conservatives in particular resent being polled.

- A 38" article by the *Washington Post's* David Broder used Missouri as an example of how the Republican financial advantage permitted daily polling in the final stages of Senatorial campaigns. The polls led to a new TV ad strategy and Sen. Danforth's re-election. Only after 24" do we learn Democrat Harriet Woods had no funds to counter the new ads, let alone do more polling of her own. If she had been able to reply to her foe's portrayal of her record, there might have been an article on the lack of polling being no barrier to victory.

- A *Miami Herald* report on ABC's exit polls made clear from the start that unemployment was the biggest issue. *Post* readers read over 9" before learning it.

- Two dozen wealthy Cuban exiles organized the National Committee for a Free Cuba to oppose congressmen they consider "friends of Fidel Castro." A prime target, Wirth of Colorado, won handily. He opposes the proposed anti-Castro radio station, Radio Marti (*Herald*).

- "Black Voters Aided White Candidates, But Got No Reciprocation" accurately reflected the first sentence and emphasis of a *Post* story. But paragraph four noted that two new black House members had "heavy white support." Touched on by the *Post*, and in more detail in a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* piece, were: the increased participation of black voters, their sometimes key role, and the increased appeals to them by white politicians, including Southern ones. A Bill Raspberry column made these points most clearly while noting that many whites must have voted for Bradley in California and Clark in Mississippi for them to have come so close.

- A 17" *Post* article, "Race Discounted As Factor" in Bradley's loss in the California governor's race, never mentioned the 3% who told pollster Field that they voted against Bradley because he was black. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* noted that aside from Bradley, only one other Democrat lost for state office. Seeking re-election for the non-partisan Superintendent of Public Instruction job, Wilson Riles, also black, lost. But, seemingly unnoticed outside the state, so did two Republicans who were black. While some blacks told pollsters they voted for Bradley because of his race, if race were really their reason wouldn't they have voted for the blacks on the Republican ticket? The relative importance of race and other factors in the 1982 California election awaits the application of methods far more advanced than exit polling.

- Aside from the *Kansas City Star* nobody seems to have given much attention to the election of Alan Wheat, a black, in the over 75% white district of retiring Rep. Bolling.

- The focus on Bradley's loss also left the winner, George Deukmejian, ignored. A *Boston Globe* columnist noted he was the first American Armenian to be elected governor. (His father fled persecution in Turkey.)

- In the California lieutenant-governor's race, early polls had Republican Carol Hallett favored by a majority of Democratic women voters. Then Democrat Leo McCarthy contrasted his strong stand for the Equal Rights Amendment and freedom to choose abortion with his foe's avoidance of the issues, and won the support of women's organizations and voters (*San Francisco Chronicle*).

- The Florida Senate's defeat of ERA led to membership changes. Last summer's 22-16 anti-ERA vote was turned to 25-15 in favor (UPI: *Herald*).

- A *Los Angeles Times* opinion piece named

Gloria Molina's election to the State Assembly as the year's most significant achievement for California because she proved wrong the belief among local latino politicians that their constituents wouldn't vote for a woman. She had won a tough primary against a foe supported by most local leaders.

- A *Boston Globe* nuclear freeze analysis went beyond referenda reporting (the freeze won in eight of nine states plus DC and 26 of 29 local jurisdictions) to note, however, that candidates given the most freeze money lost in five of eight Senate races. Freeze backers claimed importance in but three House races, and the issue wasn't decisive in them. The issue's main significance in the election was to provide friendly candidates with volunteer workers. Often this meant helping Democrats offset a Republican \$ advantage.

Of those voting on the freeze, 60% approved. The House now has 39 more freeze advocates. It lost by two last time. More important than possible passage of the resolution may be the skeptical attitude it reflects and the chance that weapons expenditures will be seriously questioned as to need as well as to budget impact.

* * *

Post head: "Nuclear Protests Sparsely Attended." A photo showed a few people and many empty seats. (The text said sixty attended at Georgetown.) After all the *Post's* negative emphasis, paragraph two started with the news that 500 campuses had teach-ins, over triple the 1981 number. Turnouts were way up in the South and Midwest, areas not known for much anti-nuclear activity.

Attendance figures and speculation as to why more didn't attend dominated the 12" story. A *Globe* article, "At 500 campuses, nuclear arms race was topic," gave about 22" of 31" to the speakers' views.

* * *

Post over AP story: "Navy Admits Pilots' Doubts on New F-18 Fighter." *Herald* over *Chicago Tribune* story: "New Fighter-bomber failed in sea trials." The *Post* called the plan "expensive;" the *Herald* noted it's the Navy's single most expensive weapons system. The final *Post* paragraph only hinted at what the *Herald* stated up front: the plane ran out of fuel short of its expected combat range!

The *Herald* continued at length detailing a House Appropriations Committee critique of a previous F-18 trial. Among its complaints: a company pilot, not a Navy one, flew it, and the plane was towed into takeoff position for engine start on the runway to conserve fuel."

* * *

When a Brezhnev speech departed from his previously conciliatory tone towards the US administration, and also vowed to do all in his power to normalize relations with China, it was page one many places. The *Post* ran it on 31, and its Ombudsman did a trenchant job on its curious placement. As an imperfect remedy the *Post* ran a few analytic pieces plus front page coverage of a speech saying less by an obscure Politburo member.

The *Globe* made the *Post* reporter's buried story its main page one item, and included in detail what the *Post* mostly ignored: Brezhnev's remarks on China. Bumping Brezhnev from the *Post's* front page: a U. of Maryland prof's indictment on kickback charges. (A few weeks later the *Post* reported International Harvester's guilty plea in a conspiracy to bribe Mexican oil officials from 1977 to 1980 on page D5.)

* * *

Post, (AP) Nov. 1: Guerrilla sources reported that one of their main leaders, Abdul Halim, died when ambushed by Soviet troops while he returned to his hideout after raiding two outposts outside of Kabul. He was shot in the face and leg. *Post*, Nov. 15, A1, special from a Dutch freelancer: Halim died when hit in the head by a machine-gun bullet while storming the last gun resisting his forces as they attacked a key Soviet position in the center of Kabul.

* * *

- More than a few *Post* stories mishandle pronouns. For example: "Orens also filed a complaint... in Montgomery County, where his sales office is located, claiming Donahue ordered his demotion because he is anti-Jewish." Is the demoter or demotee alleged to be biased?

- The *Post* continues to run headlines over unrelated stories: "Dow Industrials Soar to a Record." One story underneath it: "Gains by Democrats Seen Precluding Cuts in Domestic Programs." The stories' logical relationship suggests the validity of Reagan's view that a rising stock market is good for all Americans.

Again: "New Jobless Benefit Claims Down for 4th Straight Week," was over "Mortgage Lenders Say Rates Have Bottomed, Will Rise by Summer." Is unemployment going up by summer?

- Too often the *Post* uses bland, minimal information headlines: "PLO Official Reports Arafat Plans to Make Trip to Cairo." The *Hartford Courant* used the same UPI story under "PLO's Arafat Wins Approval for Reconciliation Trip to Egypt." Another example: *Post* (p. 17) "Arafat Leaves Syria Without Meeting Assad" pales before the *Herald* (p. 1) "Syrian Snub Widens Rift With Arafat." Both headlines were over *Post* reporter Loren Jenkins' dispatch. In the *Post* news service version, Arafat left "in a huff," but in the hometown version he simply left.

A short UPI story in the same papers was "President's Nephew Freed in Guatemala" locally and "Guatemala Rescues President's Nephew" in the *Herald*. "Freed" suggests the captors acted voluntarily, perhaps after payment of a ransom, or the intervention of a liberation priest.

- Observers of the *Washington Times* may wonder if the strict professionalism of the news columns, dull but determined to overcome suspicions engendered by the \$\$ backing of Rev. Moon, is wavering. Consider this headline: "Zimbabwe leader Mugabe waddles like Marxist duck."

* * *

- The weekly *Africa News* and the *Post* did informative articles on a leaked CIA study of the African National Congress whose attacks inside South Africa were found to be increasing in number and effectiveness. Both media noted the CIA expected SA to place new limits on media reporting of ANC acts. The CIA predicted (*Post*) that SA would add new repressive laws and attack the ANC in neighboring countries, and thought that heightened regional tension would make it more difficult for the US to have good relations with both SA and the black states.

Africa News noted the study found that SA's repressive laws and acts had discredited moderate black leaders opposed to the ANC, and that no one inside SA had the support of the black community.

- South Africa expelled the only accredited journalist there from Holland, Gerard Jacobs, of that country's Catholic radio-tv network. He was the fifth foreign correspondent expelled in six years. The *Post* ignored the story. The *Baltimore Sun* noted that SA has about a hundred laws restricting what the press prints. One bans news or photos of factories or installations called "national keypoints," while another bars disclosure of what those facilities are.

- The *Post* editorial favoring the International Monetary Fund's loan to SA admitted that some past IMF loans forced recipients to change domestic policies, but thought anti-apartheid terms ought not apply to a routine loan. By implication other parts of the editorial seemed to endorse the Reagan view that allowing political views to intrude on IMF decisions would be a dangerous precedent. The next day the *Post* (AP) report of IMF approval noted that in the past the US had blocked IMF loans to leftist lands such as Vietnam, Nicaragua and Grenada.

- *Africa News* added details on the parcel bomb killing of scholar-activist Ruth First. (The Dec., '82 *Gazette* had an earlier report.) The bomb's envelope had the markings of SADEX, a US AID funded information-documentation project of the Washington-based African Bibliographic Center. The project aids nine African states reduce their economic dependence on SA. SADEX publications go by diplomatic pouch to US embassies which mail them to institutions in the host countries. Although in 1981 Mozambique expelled four Americans for alleged CIA plotting, Mozambique blames SA for the bomb, and thinks it was planted here without SADEX staff knowledge, or in Maputo after the package left the embassy. (*Africa News*, also gave an alternative view from a Mozambican journalist writing in a Paris leftist biweekly, *Afrique-Asie*: that ABC was a "CIA hotbed" and its staff was directly involved.)

- A joint hearing before two House subcommittees regarding Rep. Rangel's legislation to

ban US nuclear exports to SA and to stop training South Africans at US government facilities went unreported in the *Post*.

A brief *NY Times* story noted conductor Bernard Haitink threatened never to conduct in the Netherlands again if the threatened reduction by 23 members of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra were implemented. The *Post* reported a petition from many famed musicians against the cuts. A recent check with the Netherlands Embassy found there had been no plan to cut 23 regulars. Expenses soared as the authorized size was exceeded with the gradual adding (with medical and pension benefits) of players presumably hired as extras for large works such as Mahler or Bruckner symphonies. The budget remains undecided after an election and a restructuring of government ministries.

- When Solidarity's Nov. 10 strike call failed a fine *Post* story was under accurate but misleading headlines: "Polish Protests Suppressed" and "Riot Police Break Up Pro-Solidarity Demonstrations." They shifted attention from the strike's lack of public support. The *Inquirer's* "Some Poles Rally, but Most Ignore Strike Call," told the *Post's* story better than its own headlines. (A *Post* plus: it noted the Church "dissociated itself" from the strike. The Dec. *Gazette* observed the *Post* non-reporting of Archbishop Glemp's opposition to the strike and to US sanctions.)

- NBC's claim that the Polish government had sexually compromising tapes and photos of Lech Walesa and had shown them to top church leaders was in the *Post* and other papers. The *Post* did an angry editorial even as the wire services reported church officials denied having seen such materials, and the Polish government denied it existed. The *Post* news side also ignored these reports as well as the part of wire service copy which characterized Walesa as never hiding his enjoyment of female company, American clothes, French champagne and Dunhills (*Herald, Post-Dispatch*).

Stories the *Post* didn't use included:

- An American Federation of Teachers study that found a "massive decline" in the number of college students being trained to be math or science teachers. Many now teaching those subjects lacked relevant training (UPI: *Post-Dispatch*).

- Court files available after ex-CIA agent Edwin Wilson's arms smuggling conviction suggest he may have been helping a Defense Intelligence Agency quest for certain Soviet military equipment (*LA Times: San Francisco Chronicle*). With such evidence excluded, the defense couldn't argue that the smuggling was to win Libya's confidence so he could obtain information for the US.

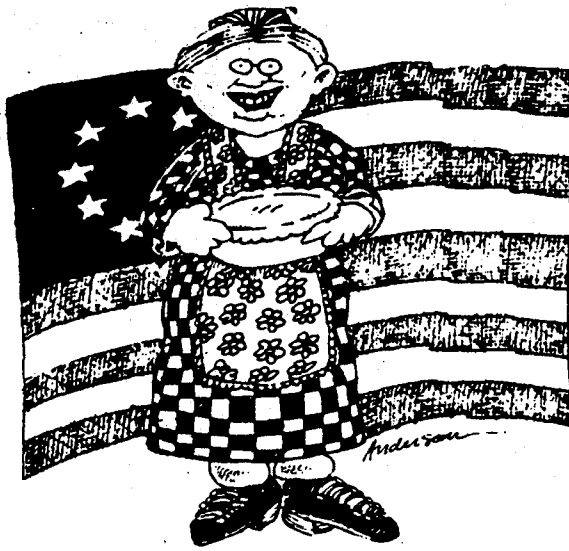
- Five men who admitted stockpiling machine guns to smuggle to the Irish Republican Army were acquitted. Their defense was that the CIA had been behind their actions (AP: *Hartford Courant*). A later *Post* tidbit on the US visit of Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary noted his disappointment with the verdict but said nothing of the defense used.

- Leaders of seven Klan factions agreed to unite in a confederation to become a "real influence on national affairs." Their immediate goals were to find enough support to open a national office, and to hire professional organizers to recruit in all states and polish the Klan's image. The Georgia Bureau of Investigation closely watched developments (*Herald, Sept. 6*).

- The FBI knew its chief informer in the Klan in the '60s had been involved in some violence but believed his information and penetration into the Klan's inner circle too valuable to tip off local police (UPI: *Inquirer*).

- UPI (*Washington Times*) did a generally friendly story on Guatemala's "tough, reformist military government" even to asserting that Indians favored his reforms and had driven the leftist guerrillas from their area. Many refugees and observing organizations report that government forces massacre Indians.

The article noted that military patrols constantly rode through Guatemala City's streets, often with at least one soldier's finger on the machine gun trigger "as he surveys passing civilians." Two paragraphs later President Rios Montt asserted that the Army was "showing Guatemala how to be democratic."



Apple Pie

Chrysler will reintroduce the rumble seat in two of its mid-1983 models, just in time for warm weather. The last domestic rumble seats were built before World War II. And for more nostalgia, Chrysler is also bringing out a new version of the "woody" convertible.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency has compiled 15 articles full of helpful hints on how to survive the big blast. *Nuclear Times* magazine reports that the series is to be published in newspapers around the country in the event of a nuclear war. Assuming we have a few days' warning before the missiles arrive. Otherwise, we

would not get to read the final article, entitled, "Would Survivors of Nuclear Attack Envy the Dead? ... Experts Say 'No.'" Other articles describe how to build a "car-over-trench" fallout shelter in case the bombs fall while you're on the road; tell us to take two aspirin every three or four hours to treat early symptoms of radiation sickness; and inform us how to prevent a house fire, with the advice, "If a nuclear explosion affects your home, go upstairs immediately and... stamp out burning drapes." FEMA does not say how to convince the newspaper carrier to deliver the papers to your doorstep once a nuclear warning sounds.

The White Castle hamburger chain has instituted a toll-free number to take orders for its trademark square burgers. The burgers will be cooked, frozen, packed in dry ice and shipped express mail to whoever has a yen for a White Castle away from home. "We generally get delivery anywhere in the country within 48 hours," says company official Gail Turley. The chain already ships 10-thousand burgers a week.

A Utah couple has figured out a new way to save money on taxes—claiming their unborn child as a dependent. Charles Trentelman wants President Reagan to reinforce his anti-abortion stand and recognize that life begins at conception. Says Trentelman in a letter to the President: "Our unborn child is legally alive and costing us money."

The folks who know say the United States has produced only four truly great presidents. Penn State history professor Robert Murray polled nearly one thousand American historians and found they bestowed top honors on Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, in that order. "Near-great"

ARTHUR HOPPE

I was having a drink the other night with a stranger in a bar. He was from Arcturus III and looked a little like Kermit the Frog.

"How is it," he said, wrapping a long green finger around his martini, "that every time I ask one of you to take me to your leader, you laugh?"

"It's the hard times," I said. "Our leaders are all we have to laugh about."

"Ah, hard times," he said nodding. "That I can understand. During the reign of Silurian XV, there was a grave shortage of workers on Arcturus. We couldn't produce enough snerdles to clothe the population. And many of us were shivering. Tell me, how critical is your worker shortage?"

"Actually," I said, "we have too many workers for the work available. In fact, one worker in nine is sitting around doing absolutely nothing."

The stranger pursed his nasal tube thoughtfully.

"Tools are the problem then, eh? I know what you're up against. It seems like only the sidereal day before yesterday that an interstellar electromagnetic storm hit us. Knocked out 18.6 percent of our spectro-synergic deep-fried ixtpl makers. They just sat around humming, 'I Can't Give You Anything But Love, Baby.' So many of us went hungry. Tell me, how critical is your tool shortage?"

"Actually," I said, "we have too many tools to meet the demand. In fact, more than 30 percent of our factory capacity is gathering cobwebs."

"Oh, no!" said the stranger, his long neck wrinkling in what appeared to be a frown. "You have plenty of eager workers, you say, and plenty of useful tools, but a shortage of demand? That means you are entering the Age of Great Frustration."

"Is that bad?"

"Terrible," he said. "I recall when we on Arcturus fulfilled all the needs of all our citizens and no one wished anything more. Workers were idled

and all of us were bored. We were saved when our wise leader, Cantaloupe VII, invented slithy toves, which everyone immediately demanded."

He produced a box of wriggling, slug-like creatures and swallowed several. "Here," he said, "try one. Your hard times are over."

I declined with a shudder. "Actually," I said, "the only thing we've got more of than workers and tools are demands. One-third of the world goes to bed each night ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. And the rest of us can't find a sales clerk, a parking place, a government employee, or anyone to answer a phone in a business office except Musak."

At this, all 18 of the stranger's eyes lit up and he clapped me on the back with an appendage I hadn't noticed. "How wonderful!" he cried. "You have plenty of eager workers, plenty of useful tools and plenty of unmet needs. What more could you ask for? You are the envy of the universe!"

It's very odd, but I'd never thought of it that way before. What marvelous news! I promptly bought drinks for the house, explained the situation and soon we were all singing, "Happy Days Are Here Again."

"The only thing I don't understand," I said, "is why our economists didn't figure this out long ago."

Suddenly, the stranger's nasal tubes, arms and assorted appendages drooped and he quickly downed a third martini. "You have economists?" he asked.

"Oh, yes," I said proudly. "Conservative, liberal capitalist, communist. You name it."

"That's a crying shame," he said. "Well, I must be on my way to Feta VI. They're about to be swallowed by a giant, intergalactic toad. But, in their case, there's still hope."

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status was accorded to Teddy Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Andrew Jackson and Harry Truman. Who rated lowest? Ulysses Grant, Warren Harding and Richard Nixon. Murray thinks the future may treat Nixon more kindly, but history professors probably won't. Says Murray, "You ought to see the scandalous adjectives historians use to describe him and his administration."

Money is pretty tight in Santa Cruz, California, so some highwaymen have taken matters into their own hands, holding "patch parties" to repair roads. About a dozen "road vigilantes" have filled potholes on county roads—something the public works department can't afford. Even though what they're doing is technically illegal,

the outlaws have a lot of support. Says county supervisor Dan Forbus: "I appreciate them doing it—just as long as we don't know about it."

According to *Advertising Age*, a normal person spends about 40 minutes a day waiting, which adds up to about a year on hold between ages 18 and 35.

THE DC BOOKSHELF

DC MAGAZINES: A LITERARY RETROSPECTIVE. This work contains an anthology of pieces from three of Washington's most important literary magazines, *Portfolio*, *Voyages* and *Dryad*. Editor Richard Peabody has also included a listing of literary magazines published here from the 18th century on and a list of alternative newspapers and arts magazines published since the sixties. \$7.95.

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THE FALLACY OF COPYING JAPAN

William Beeman

Conventional wisdom has it that workers in the United States and Japan both possess a "work ethic." Thus it is thought that only a problem of organization in U.S. industry keeps it so far behind Japan in terms of productivity. The premise is so widely accepted that a number of business consultants have become wealthy advising U.S. executives how to "Japanize" their operations.

All this may be in vain, however, for recent research into Japanese corporate behavior suggests that attitudes and actions in Japanese factories may be more a matter of religious rather than industrial behavior.

Such a conclusion may come as a surprise even to Japan experts. "Indifference to religion is one

William Beeman is a Brown University anthropologist who recently completed a one-year fellowship at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

of the most conspicuous characteristics of present day Japan," writes Jack Seward in his recent study, "America and Japan: The Twain Meet." Indeed, according to a recent government survey, fully 65 percent of Japanese supposedly do not consider themselves "religious," the number rising to 90 percent when youth are included.

Neither Seward nor the Japanese government survey are really wrong. The Japanese word for religion, "shukyo," literally means "teachings of a sect." If "religious" persons are those who follow carefully the teachings of a sect, most Japanese probably do not qualify. As a 1979 Japan Times survey pointed out, "religious" activity usually consists of visits to a shrine or temple.

Nevertheless, it is misleading to conclude that the Japanese are indifferent to religion. The danger lies in assuming that the Japanese also lack a clearcut sense of moral or ethical values, as the crude stereotypes of materialist Japanese society currently popular in the West would suggest.

Koichi Shinahara, of McMaster University in Canada, suggests a much broader concept of Japanese religion in a study prepared for the Council on Religion and International Affairs. He notes that the basic principles of Japanese religious behavior are embodied in the institution of the "ie"—a word usually translated as "family" or "household."

The "ie" consists of the blood relatives in the nuclear family but can also include persons adopted into the family. The "ie" also connotes lineage; thus it outlasts the life of the individual. One male member is designated to carry on the main lineage, and other brothers and cousins may be permitted to establish branch lineages which consult with each other regularly.

The head of the traditional "ie" is all-powerful and usually passes leadership to one of his sons before his death. During his leadership the members of the "ie" are expected to show him unswerving loyalty and devotion.

LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS

Dave Barry

NOTE TO READERS: This column is really a vicious and trivial attack on department stores, but I'm pretty sure most editors wouldn't print such an attack, so I've added phony first and last paragraphs that will make it appear to be a long-winded, boring column about NATO, the kind of thing that editors love to print.

NATO. The very initials stand for "North Atlantic Treaty Organization," a chain of democracy whose links were forged on the anvil of the Cold War from the steel of the spirit of freedom, made from the iron ore of liberty, but constantly threatened by oxidation caused by the saliva of hate spat upon it by the fat blubbery lips of the Communist overlords. Yet we Americans often take NATO for granted. Time and again I've watched Americans standing in the express checkout line at the supermarket, and NATO is clearly the farthest thing from their minds. They're too busy counting the purchases of the shoppers ahead of them to make sure they're not over the express-line limit, which is usually 10 items. I've noticed that a lot of the shoppers ahead of me cheat; for example, they'll count two avocados as if they were one item, just because they're both avocados. This is only one example of the kind of thinking that has weakened the NATO alliance.

There. That ought to put the editors to sleep. Now for the real issue at hand, which is department-store salespersons. I may be naive, but I always thought that the primary function of salespersons is to take your money in exchange for merchandise. But lately I've encountered quite a few salespersons who would rather die than let me buy anything. I recently spent nearly three hours in a department store trying to buy some patio furniture, and the salespersons were incredibly inventive in their efforts to stop me:

ME: Excuse me, but I ordered some patio furniture, and...

SALESPERSON: That's not this department. This is Housewares.

ME: Yes, I realize that, but there's nobody in the furniture department, and I thought that since you're not busy maybe you could call the stockroom and tell them I'm here to pick up my order.

SALESPERSON: There should be somebody over in Furniture. Patio furniture is furniture.

ME: Right. I couldn't agree more. I think just as soon as we call the stockroom we ought to go right over to Furniture and leave them a nasty note.

SALESPERSON: They're probably taking a break, over in Furniture. You could wait for them over there.

ME: Right. I can think of nothing I'd rather do than wait over in Furniture, but I was waiting there for almost a half hour, and I get the impression maybe they're taking their break in Lima, Peru, and I'm in kind of a hurry, so I thought it wouldn't take you more than a couple of seconds to call the stockroom about my order.

SALESPERSON: You want me to call the stockroom?

ME: That's it! Terrific idea! Why not? Why not call the stockroom? I love the whole concept.

SALESPERSON: Okay, but first I gotta take my break. Denise, take care of this man, will you?

DENISE: Yes?

ME: Hi. I'm here to pick up some patio furniture, and...

DENISE: That's not this department. This is Housewares.

One of these days you're going to read a newspaper story about some deranged consumer who forced a department-store salesperson, at gunpoint, to sell him a lawn tractor. This consumer will probably be arrested and charged with buying something from the wrong department, which is apparently a violation of federal law.

And another thing. The restrooms in department stores all seem to have those electric blow-driers instead of paper towels, which are infinitely superior. This is wrong. If God didn't want us to use paper towels, He would not have made trees. But what really makes me mad is that instead of apologizing for installing electronic driers, the department stores claim they're actually doing us a favor. I recently saw an electric drier with a sign stating it was installed "...to protect you from the hazards of diseases that may be transmitted by towel litter." What diseases? Did you ever hear of anybody getting a disease from paper towel litter?

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The U.S. government reported that three hundred more people died yesterday of diseases transmitted by paper towel litter in what has become a nationwide epidemic. "This needless tragedy was totally needless," said Dr. Norman A. Plankton of the United States Department of Diseases. "People see these television commercials wherein housewives soak up large quantities of liquids with paper towels, and they think paper-towel ownership is just a bed of roses. They never see the tragic aftermath; they never see the housewife and her innocent children writhing on the kitchen floor in the final throes of paper-towel-litter disease."

What lies ahead for NATO? Will it become complacent and flabby, resting on its laurels and doing wine commercials like Orson Welles, or will it become lean, fleet and tough, like Dallas Cowboys running back Tony Dorsett, who has gained over a thousand yards every season since high school? The answer depends on us, America. We must let our elected officials know where we stand. We might also let them know we want them to pass a law banning that smarmy music department stores play over their public-address systems.

[C] Feature Associates

The "ie" is the fundamental unit of organization for village religious festivals, which center around worship of numerous deities, all of whom are basically ancestors who acquired the status of gods after death. Thus the ideals of group strength, loyalty and devotion extend beyond the grave, binding the living to the deceased.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with booming industrialization, the new Japanese factory worker, often living far from home, felt unfulfilled without family communal ties. Gradually, Japanese firms developed a form which adopted many of the features of the "ie"—life-

time employment, employee protection, an ethic of company loyalty and a tendency to enter into the private lives of employees, even to the point of arranging marriages.

The corporation, like the "ie," took to spawning branch corporations at regular intervals—all of which would act in consort when it was their collective best interests. Japanese corporate employees, in turn, tended to give their all, entering into cooperative work with the sacrificial efforts so well documented by American business consultants.

But contrary to myths currently prevalent in the United States, competition within the company is fierce, just as it is in the "ie."

Just as only one can succeed to leadership of the "ie," there is little room at the top within industry. Often when one member of a group starting together in a company is promoted to a high executive position, the others in the group will resign en masse.

What is essential is that in the end the ethic of internal harmony prevails above all difficulties. This suggests that more than collective self-interest is at work in the Japanese corporation. An ethical and moral imperative that overrides individual complaints and differences is clearly operative.

University of Tokyo sociologist Kashi Ishida points out that it is this ability to integrate com-

petition and conformity that gives Japan its edge in the world industrial market today. McMaster University's Shinahara further points out that the form and operational method of the modern Japanese corporation is not merely a copying of an older, village-based family tradition; it is a reframing of important elements of the "ie" tradition in a new context. It comes very close to what we in the West would accept unquestioningly as religious principles.

Ishida illustrates just how company loyalty directly parallels the highest ideals of Shintoism and Buddhism. He notes that one executive involved in the Lockheed scandal of 1979 committed suicide, taking to the grave vital secrets concerning the scandal. His suicide note said: "The company is eternal. It is our duty to devote our lives to that eternity. Our employment may last for only 20 or 30 years. But the life of the company is eternal."

If the analyses of Shinahara and Ishida are correct, all the adaptations of the Japanese work ethic would have little chance of success in the West. Whereas the Western "work ethic" emphasizes individual achievement aimed at a kind of personal salvation, the Japanese imperative is directed toward survival and the salvation of the group. Both may have their bases in religious beliefs. But in the end, the religions are very, very different.

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CHUCK STONE

Just what do you call the verbal smokescreen that pretends a \$5.5-billion, 320,000-job-producing highway repair program funded by a 5-cent-a-gallon tax is really to "maintain the freedom of travel and romance of the road"?

Can you believe this con man?

Over 12 million unemployed Americans, most of their budgets too strapped to take a vacation, and our president raves about automotive joys.

"Perhaps, more important," he further rhapsodized, "we will be preserving for future generations of Americans a highway system that has long been the envy of the world, that has made the average American driver king of the road."

One week after those inspiring words, our enviable economic system had made 12 million average unemployed folks paupers of the neighborhoods.

Since his remedy to date has been an effervescent command to "stay the course," Americans don't take him seriously when he responds to 10.8 percent unemployment as "a continuing tragedy."

How tragic must the tragedy become before the president acts?

He could if he weren't ideologically imprisoned by that economic fatuity called "supply-side economics." ("We know what 'supply-side economics' is," a group of subjects told my favorite comic character, the Wizard of Id. "Your side has all the supplies.")

One, President Reagan can't admit that with an impending \$200-billion deficit, supply-side economics is already a gargantuan failure.

Two, he can't concede that the fundamental purpose of any federally assisted program—whether repairing highways or rebuilding ghettos—is to generate jobs.

An ounce of compassion should have defined the gasoline tax as a measure to "maintain the freedom of the employment market and the romance of job security."

On top of the president's somnambulism on jobs, he keeps piling outrage on top of outrage at the expense of the unemployed.

First, he considered taxing unemployment benefits.

When he was convinced that such a proposal approximated a federal endorsement of child molestation, he backed down and his aides lied by saying it was never seriously considered.

Now, Mr. Reagan is contemplating taxing health care benefits to raise needed funds.

Has our president no shame?

In the meantime, we must continue to wait until the enormity of this national tragedy impresses itself upon the presidential heart. Not his mind, but his heart.

He has yet to abandon the myth that newspapers brimming with classified ads prove that unemployment is in the people's minds and not in the closed industries.

How, then, does he explain the more than 1,000 people who stood in a Los Angeles line to apply for five available jobs?

"Something is radically wrong when people of this caliber can't find jobs," mourned Nicholas Dienna, a former bank vice president and member of Forty Plus of Philadelphia, a group of unemployed executives 40 and over who were making at least \$22,500 in their last job.

Something is indeed radically wrong.

It begins with a president who doesn't have the slightest idea what Mr. Dienna is talking about. And worst of all, doesn't care.

BLACKS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Barbara Reynolds

AFTON, N.C.—"This is the first time I ever saw this community come together. Other communities, too, will be able to override the issue of race as we see economic and health issues hurting people on both sides of the tracks."

The speaker is Michelle Michaux, a black attorney in this poor and predominantly black community which was recently a scene of protest and scores of arrests when it became the site of the state's first toxic waste dump. The overriding of the race issue came about through a precedent-setting unity established between civil-rights activism and environmental concerns.

Despite the fact that state trucks continue to rumble into Afton with cargoes of chemical wastes, residents, environmentalists and allied groups see something historically significant emerging from the protests, especially as Afton was never known for its racial solidarity.

Nearly 500 residents of Warren County and civil-rights leaders such as Rep. Walter Fauntroy were arrested recently after lying down in the street to block trucks hauling contaminated soil to the recently opened dump. The convergence of prominent people like Fauntroy, Ben Chavis of "Wilmington 10" fame, and Rev. Joseph Lowry, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference focused national attention on Afton. Today black activists are forming coalitions with white groups to fight environmental battles throughout the south or, in some cases, fighting alone.

In Memphis, center of a bustling chemical empire, Brother M. T. Greene, who counted eight cancer deaths in his neighborhood in 18 days, is helping organize an integrated statewide group to clean up toxic dumps near schools, playgrounds and homes. In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, black citizens have filed suit against a company burning toxic wastes near homes. In Anson County, North Carolina, local blacks are joining whites in a campaign against a company which has applied for a hazardous landfill permit. And in Sumter, Alabama, another black area where a toxic dump has been authorized, black workers walked off their jobs at the dump to protest health and safety violations.

The growing concern of blacks with en-

vironmental issues was highlighted at the Highlander Center in Huntsville, Tennessee, where one of the largest multiracial gatherings in recent memory was attracted to a conference on pollution and toxic wastes. But there are still obstacles to better cooperation between blacks and the mostly middle-class, white environmentalists.

Jim Higgins, editor of *Exposure*, published by the Environmental Action Foundation, wrote a congratulatory editorial on the Afton protests, calling them an "inspiration to the Washington desk jockeys," but noting a worry that other blacks might not follow Afton's lead because outrage is needed for such actions and blacks have not usually associated the environment with social outrage.

Some environmentalists concede that little has been done to attract blacks to their cause and note that in the late 1960s many blacks saw environmentalism as a "sideshow" which drew attention away from civil rights. Also, environmental arguments against population growth have angered many blacks, who view them as tinged with racism.

Nevertheless, several factors may be changing attitudes for the better. According to George Colling, of Washington's Environmental Foundation, good results have been achieved when environmental groups reached out to blacks. "We have attracted black supporters by lobbying on black issues such as voting rights and fair housing," he notes. He also points out that "the poor are being dumped on more and more, and these are the very people who can least afford adequate health care, nor do they have the means to move out of endangered areas."

Black areas are being threatened by toxic wastes in scores of communities nationwide, with little fanfare compared to that generated by the Love Canal scandal in New York state. For example, a predominantly black community of 600 in Triana, Alabama, has been given a double dose of DDT and PCBs via the Tennessee River, in which they fish and draw drinking water. The contamination source was a federal arsenal where a private

[Please turn to page 24]

ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

From time to time, the Gazette will publish updated portions of our annual guide to alternative media and national action groups. If your organization is not listed, or is incorrectly listed, please let us know. We can also add short descriptions of 25 words or less. Mail any changes on a postcard to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

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10017. 212-972-9877.

BLACK - CIVIL RIGHTS

ML KING CENTER FOR
NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE, 503
Auburn Ave. NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30312

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS
306 House Annex NJ & C SE DC 20515

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON
CIVIL RIGHTS 1201 16th St NW #601
DC 20036

NATIONAL ANTI-KLAN NETWORK,
c/o IFCO, 348 Convent Ave., NYC NY
10031 212-926-5757. Also PO Box 1-
0500, Atlanta Ga. 30310. 404-221-0025
NAACP 1790 Broadway NYC NY
10019

PARKER-COLTRANE PAC, PO Box
50523, DC 20004

CONSUMER

COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCE-
MENT OF CONSUMER POLICY, 1341 G
NW, DC 20005 #800, DC 20005

CONSUMERS UNION 256 Washington
St. Mt. Vernon Ny. 10550

FEDERATION OF HOMEMAKERS
927 Stuart St. Arlington Va. 22203

CONSUMERS UNION OF THE US
1511 K NW #1033 DC 20005

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE
1522 K St. NW (406) DC 20005

PUBLIC CITIZEN PO Box 19404 DC
20036

AVIATION CONSUMER ACTION
PROJECT PO Box 19029 DC 20036

[To be Continued]

BLACKS cont'd

manufacturer once produced chemicals. The
Center for Disease Control in Atlanta called
Triana "the most contaminated city in America"
and the mayor, Clyde Foster, has said that "if this
weren't a black town, much more would have
been done to help us."

In Memphis, where M. T. Green has organized
the Cypress Health and Safety Committee to fight
toxic dumps, surveys disclosed high rates of
cancer and birth defects in area residents.

"I think more blacks will get involved in health
and safety issues, along with whites, as they see
the issues directly threatening them," he says.
"Time is running out for them to stay
uninvolved."

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CITY DESK Cont'd

The fiscal concerns are indeed real, but as was mentioned in this journal last month, there is more than one way to skin a budget. The important thing is that the economies be made equitably and not in a manner that the gap between those with the power and those without it simply grows larger.

As an indication of how serious the financial situation is, consider that the mayor could cover his \$110 million deficit by closing down the fire department and the libraries. Consider also that the deficit is only the tip of the iceberg. We have, as well, an inability to pay back money borrowed for water and sewer projects, a gaping actuarial hole in pension funding, mounting unreturned advances by the federal government to the unemployment compensation fund and increasing short-term borrowing from the Treasury.

This last item is of particular note because it points not only to the degree of fiscal trouble but the unwillingness of the city council to help much in the matter. The council recently authorized the mayor to borrow a record \$150 million from the Treasury this year.

Although this short-term borrowing is usually paid back by the end of the year, the payment has, in effect, been covered by borrowing the same amount for the next year plus some more. What used to be a \$20-40 million shortfall in the days of Walter Washington has turned into what really should be regarded as a \$150 million debt we can't pay back.

A few council members, particularly Betty Ann Kane, are concerned about this, but for the most part the council tags along behind the mayor on such matters. As one city haller said to me recently, "This legislature has the biggest staff and highest pay of any such body in the US with the possible exception of California. You'd think with that sort of pay and talent you'd have the most bitter dog fights over oversight. But there's nothing."

Arrington Dixon, whatever his other faults, was always looking for a way to distance himself from the mayor and thus would, in a somewhat random fashion, occasionally raise a serious point of contention. One of the problems with Dave Clarke as chair is that he is likely, at least initially, to be overly-conciliatory towards Barry — at precisely the time when the council chair should be looking critically at everything the mayor does. Clarke, for example, doesn't expect many limits to be put on the mayor's budget this time around.

One of the problems Barry faces is that fiscal gimmicks are sort of like natural resources — many are non-renewable. Mayor Washington, for example, several times rounded out his budget by speeding up payment dates for one tax or another. It only works once. Similarly, Barry has benefited from the 1960-1970s glut of employment at the District Building, which he could pare through attrition without much noticeable pain. Now he is getting

to the bone and citizens are going to begin to see the effects of each fiscal restraint.

Another problem that no one wants to talk about is the rotten condition of the city's tax base. All those years of speculative development and the real estate boom hid some basic flaws in city hall thinking about the tax base. Now the chickens are coming home to roost.

Most striking is the pay-off for years of indifference to the retail tax base. The city's emphasis on office building construction — bringing yet more non-taxpaying suburban commuters, was matched by a casual attitude towards retail sales. As a result, sales tax revenue has generally over the past ten years failed to increase as much as the rate of inflation. Despite all the building and tearing down, the real sales tax base is the same or smaller than a decade ago. Yet sales taxes are one of the big three sources of city revenue.

The situation with property taxes is not much brighter because of the drop

in property assessments that will become noticeable in fiscal year 1984 tax revenues. Meanwhile, estimates for income tax revenues are that it will beat inflation only by a point or so.

A bipartisan trio of Virginia politicians, including Metro board member Joseph Alexander, has proposed replacing Metrobus service in Northern Virginia with bus service run by the Northern Virginia Transportation Commission. The old Metro compact ain't what it used to be. Not a bad thing either. This move is one more reflection of a growing realization that the myth of regionalism hasn't worked at Metro.

Washington area consumer prices declined in November for the second time in 12 months. See, we've whipped inflation. Now what are you complaining about?

Bill Raspberry goes to Philadelphia this month at the invitation of the Philadelphia Daily News's Jill Porter, who took umbrage at a slighting com-



Roses & Thorns

• **THORNS TO MAYOR BARRY** for appointing a former lobbyist for the Board of Trade to administer the city's new worker's compensation board. Says Joslyn Williams of the local AFL-CIO, Bruce Eanet's "clear pro-management bias disqualifies him from any position requiring compassion and sensitivity to the plight of working people."

• **ROSES TO LINDA DUBUCLET AND JOHN BURGESS OF THE POST** who did an excellent study and article on the differences between the suburbs and the city in terms of bus service. Not surprisingly, DC came off the short end of the stick. The story reaffirms our conviction that Metro doesn't really care about the quality of its bus service. Some of the worst routes in terms of missed trips and late trips were those most heavily travelled. Two major X routes, for example, which by themselves carry a ridership equal to 7 percent of the whole subway system, only were on-time about 70% of the trips. The 30 route was even worse: an on-time record of 53%.

• **ROSES TO THE SCHOOL BOARD** for saving a few bucks by not re-upping with the Council of Urban Boards of Education and the National School Boards Association.

• **THORNS TO SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER JOHN WARREN** for proposing a measure that would even further restrict youth access to video game parlors. Playing Frogger may be a bad habit, but we can't see what business it is of the city government to treat the activity as akin to using dope.

• **ROSES TO UDC's young radio station, WDCU**, which has greatly increased the quantity and improved the quality of jazz on the local airwaves.

• **THORNS TO THE BARRY ADMINISTRATION** for making such a big fuss about the Golden Key discount program for senior citizens but still being without a list of participating merchants.

• **ROSES TO LOUIS R MEHLINGER**, one of the founders of the Washington Bar Association and long active in DC, who hit an even hundred last month.

• **THORNS TO THE WASHINGTON POST** for sticking the latest PEP-CO rate increase story on the business page. We know you're pro-utility but you don't have to brag about it.

ment about the C of BL in a Raspberry column. Raspberry told Porter over the phone that he'd probably fly up on January 14, adding "Philadelphia does have an airport doesn't it?" Watch your local op-ed page for results.

Even as the city was cracking down on drunken drivers, the city council last month was pressing through some emergency legislation to permit sale of alcoholic beverages at the convention center. It seemed the center couldn't hawk booze under any existing license category.

The hot word from the Age of Enlightenment News Service is that enough people practiced transcendental meditation in DC last year that, as a result, the crime rate went down, traffic fatalities plummeted 29 percent, school attendance went up, and third graders reached national test norms for the first time since testing began. Similar results were noted in Iowa, headquarters of the Maharishi International University, which has the campus in DC as well. Dr. Christopher Jones of the Maharishi International University College of Natural Law says that "when there are at least 1600 in Fairfield [Iowa] and 400 in Washington enlivening the full potential of natural law in the whole of national consciousness, we would

expect a powerful wave of coherence and harmony to sweep the nation." Dr. Jones noted that on November 19, when the colleges were on Thanksgiving holiday, there was an outbreak of violence in DC.

He did not explain why you need four times as many people in Iowa as in DC to achieve harmony and coherence.

The effort by the Federation of Civic Associations to reduce the pay of school board members (via a ballot initiative) will, if it succeeds, be the most insignificant matter to gain ballot status in DC. It may be that board salaries are too high (although certainly not \$14,000 a year too high as the federation suggests) but cutting (or raising) the salaries is likely to have zero effect on the quality of representation. Here is one petition you can refuse to sign on the grounds that it's frivolous.

Jack Eisen, one of the few people at the Post who actually likes the city he writes about, reports mixed movement on the nomenclature front. The good news is that the Marriott hotel across from the Willard will not be known as the J. Willard Marriott Hotel. As Eisen noted, "Can't you imagine the confusion that might have occurred when someone arrived at National Airport and told a cabdriver,

'the Willard?' There's enough problem now with the town's two Hiltons and its two Sheratons."

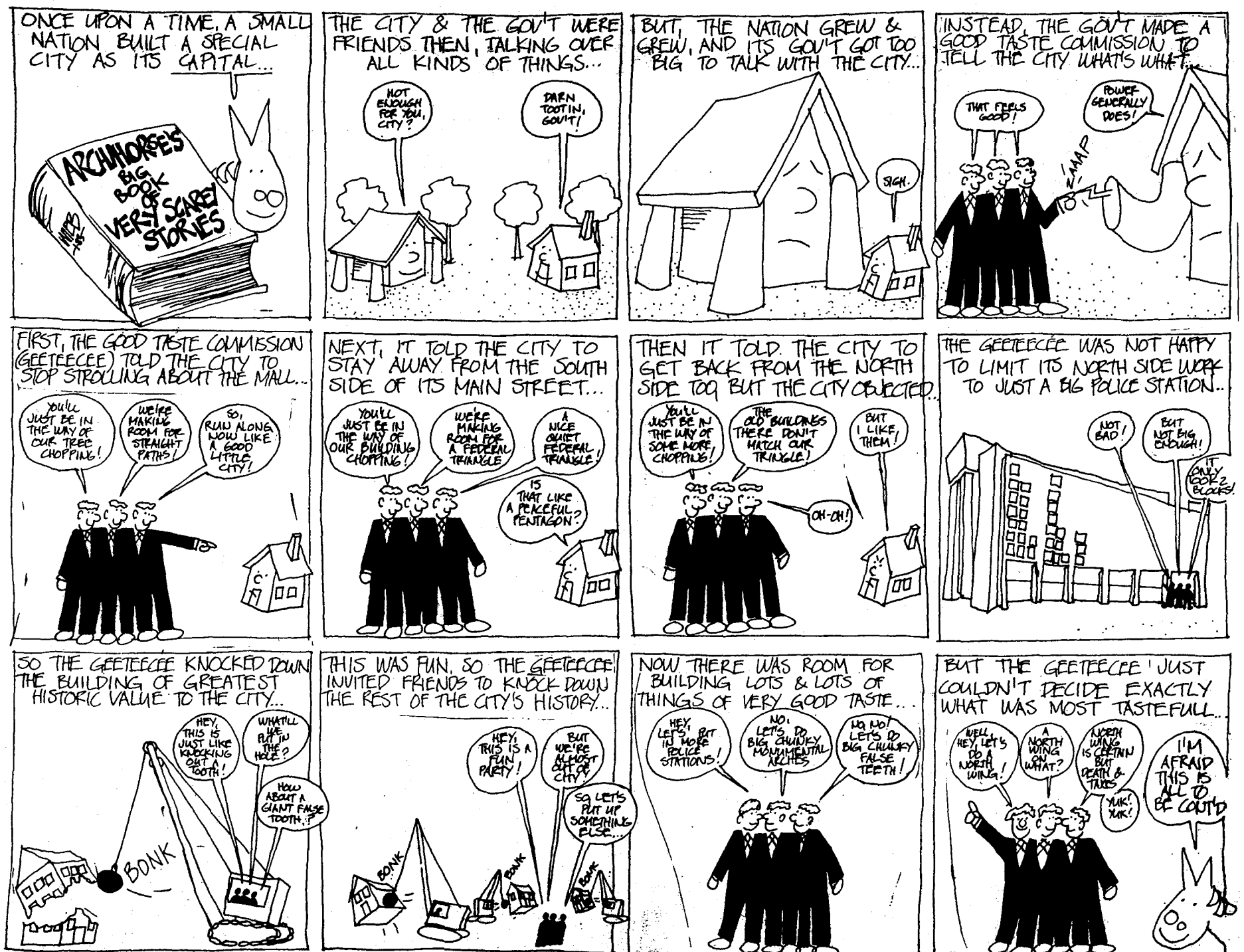
The bad news is that the original Willard is to be called the Fairmont Willard to remind us that it is owned by the San Francisco-based Fairmont Hotel Corporation. Cried Eisen, "Washingtonians, arise! Tell those San Franciscans to keep the Fairmont on Nob Hill. We'll keep our Willard on Pennsylvania Avenue."

One of the less engaging activities of the mayor of late was his last-minute effort to get the city council to approve the issuance of tax-exempt bonds to help the Special Restaurants Corporation of Long Beach, California, build a restaurant on the Southwest waterfront. The council gave its preliminary agreement before adjourning for the year.

This late-hopper item is apparently

CORRECTION

We recently gave Mike Davis a rose for his Washington Times expose of the Dupont Circle trolley tunnel dealings. Actually, Mike wrote the story with Pam Kruger — who naturally deserves a rose, too.



being rushed in part because Congress has said that after 1982 you can't use industrial revenue bonds for restaurants. Congress acted after finding a number of abuses in the revenue bond field.

Barry was working under tight time constraints. He wanted to get the restaurant bonds approved prior to December 31, but did not want to bring the matter up before the fall elections to "avoid any hint of politics."

The beneficiary of the \$3.5 tax-exempt issue will be a company that currently boasts \$56 million in assets.

When landlord George Dravillas finally reached agreement with lawyers for tenants of the Imperial apartments, he had to fork over \$10,000 to each of the 16 families involved. Now Dra-

villas and Adams Morgan activist George Frain have suggested that the federal and DC government follow suit.

RLA evictees only get \$1000. Asks Dravillas, "Can we now expect that Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering will work for free just as hard and as long to force the federal and District governments and the RLA to pay all of the families they displace the amount of \$10,000?" And adds Frain, "If such a policy had been in place, it is unlikely the city would have displaced 23,500 people from the SW urban renewal project. If such a policy had been in place the DC convention center would have been located on free land owned by the government."

The old year-end question arises once more: what did the mayor know and when did he know it? The ques-

tion is raised this year by the experience of a neighborhood planning council that found its funding slated to begin October 1 delayed, allegedly for procedural reasons. Despite a healthy exchange of correspondence between the Recreation Department and the NPC, with lateral inquiries by Polly Shackleton, there was no hint of the real reason until the council learned on November 23 that NPC programs had been suspended and faced funding cuts. Finally, on December 4, Alexis Roberson, then deputy director of recreation and recently named director, admitted that the department had suspended the programs for fiscal reasons as early as October 1 — two weeks after the primary and before Barry announced the \$110 million deficit.



CITY TALK

Two views of the comprehensive plan for the city

The Citizens Planning Coalition met on October 15 and took up the issue of the "Staff Draft—Comprehensive Plan for the National Capital." At that meeting, it was decided that although the Coalition would submit detailed written comments on the draft at a later date, it was agreed that it was important to respond promptly with initial comments in several areas of concern. First, we agreed that a statement of principles as to what the Comprehensive Plan should accomplish from the citizens' viewpoint was necessary. Second, there were several fundamental problems with the draft plan that we felt needed to be addressed immediately. And third, we wanted to propose the outline of a new process for developing plans, updating and adopting plans in the District of Columbia.

The statement of principles as to what the Comprehensive Plan must achieve are as follows:

1. Certainty and predictability in planning and zoning;
2. Preservation and enhancement of residential neighborhoods and the commercial services in support of those neighborhoods;
3. Population retention and the creation of new housing opportunities, consistent with maintenance of the integrity of the planning for affected neighborhoods;
4. A unique downtown emphasizing historic preservation, retention and enhancement of small business opportunities, and a variety of commercial and residential activities;
5. Acquisition, retention, and enhancement of all District shoreline for public purposes, including parks, marinas, and associated compatible commercial activity of appropriate scale;
6. A strong historic preservation program;
7. Development of public spaces and buildings in such a manner as to support appropriate development of private activity;
8. A transportation plan that emphasizes elimination of commuter truck traffic from residential neighborhoods and emphasizes and improves mass transit;
9. An emphasis on private sector economic development which is compatible with and supportive of the residential character of the city and its physical aspect as a horizontal city, including retail stores, hotels, mixed-use office, communications, professional, and service industry.
10. Full participation by citizens in the development of the plan at all states of the process in a formal, public, structured setting.

We believe that the draft plan, although containing much valuable information, is not yet a draft of a comprehensive plan because of a number of deficiencies. It is clear that, in order to achieve the ten objectives listed above, certain basic additional work must be done on the draft plan. This includes:

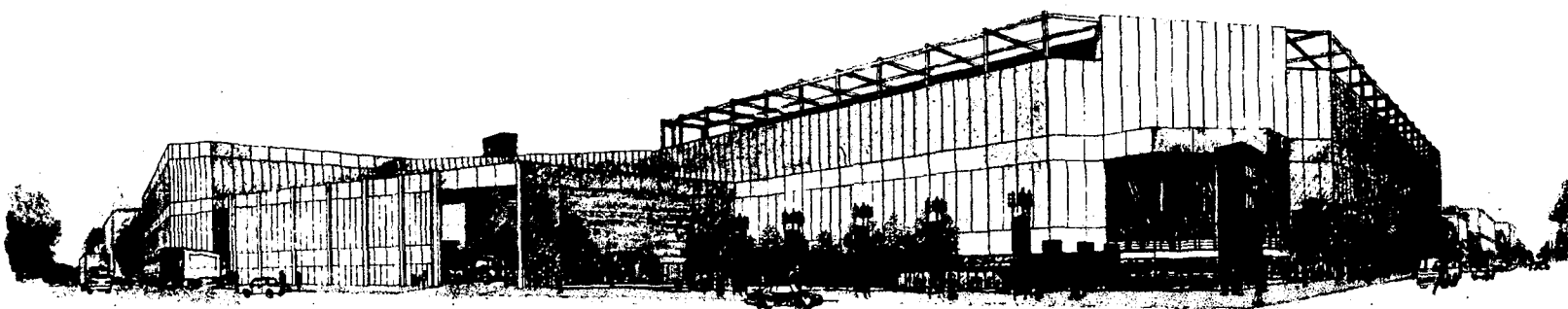
- The inclusion of a generalized land-use map as part of what will become the legally-adopted comprehensive plan, and from which the Zoning Commission will be required to develop zoning maps and text.

- The incorporation of the numerous small-area plans developed over the years—Friendship Heights, Dupont Circle, Takoma, Georgia Avenue and Benning Road—and a downtown plan—into the draft comprehensive plan to be submitted to the City Council. This will assure that the plan has a great degree of unity and coherence.
- A more formal process for allowing public participation in the development of the plan. The current informal process spreads information but does not allow for citizen input to have real weight. In this, there would be a formal structure of hearings, a hearing transcript, and the presence of the highest level District officials concerned with formulating the plan.
- In order to accomplish these desirable actions, the timetable for consideration of the plan needs to be extended from 90 days to six months before submission to the City Council. In light of the many years that have been spent on the plan, so far, we don't believe that an additional 90 days is much of a burden to the process.

—CAROL CURRIE
Chairman
Citizens Planning Coalition



Because the draft plan's policies are so vague and sometimes inconsistent, the Dupont Circle Planning Coalition is having difficulty determining exactly what the city planners have in mind. This in turn makes it difficult to formulate any kind of a specific and constructive response to proposals for this neighborhood. Matters are made even more difficult by the fact that the process for the draft plan's further development and final adoption remains poorly defined. Insofar as specific details about the process are known, they are unsatisfactory.



The city reduced the project from a \$200 million white elephant to a \$100 million boondoggle — Sen. Patrick Leahy

Because the plan consists of vague and sometimes contradictory policy statement and provides no clear guidance about how these policies are to be interpreted and reconciled when applied to specific neighborhoods and situations, the plan necessarily fails to provide the Zoning Commission and Board of Zoning Adjustment with clear and consistent guidance concerning zoning policy and land use decisions. Therefore, it will fail to attain one of its stated objectives: namely, the prevention of continued commercial encroachment into what it calls "neighborhood conservation" areas. This is a matter of great concern to Dupont Circle residents who have waged a long and continuing fight against commercial encroachment and other inappropriate uses both before the Zoning Commission and BZA as well as with the zoning administrator and the Office of Planning and Development.

The present PUD provisions of the zoning regulations provide major development incentives for relatively small parcels of land, thereby encouraging demolitions within blocks and development out of scale with, and inappropriate for, this and other neighborhoods.

—AD HOC COMMITTEE
FOR THE DUPONT CIRCLE
PLANNING COALITION

**FREE
PARKING**

The Telephone Assurance Program, a free service of the local Arthritis Foundation, is a network of volunteers with arthritis who are willing to share their experience, strength and hope with others who suffer from the disease. TAP is coordinated by Claire Chow, who explains, "We try to match clients and callers as closely as possible. For example, if a client is anticipating hip surgery, we try to arrange for the person to be called by someone who has had similar surgery."

Info: 331-7395

* * *

The Upper Georgia Ave. Planning Committee needs to raise \$10,000 for legal expenses to fight the sexually-oriented bars on Georgia Ave. Please send your donation (note the purpose) to Neighbors Inc., Rm. 206, 7705 Georgia Ave. NW, DC 20012. Every bit helps, and it's all tax deductible.

* * *

Adults can gain college credit for out-of-classroom learning through a special program at The American University APEL—or Assessment of Prior Experiential Learning—awards up to 30 hours of credit for professional, volunteer and leisure learning and helps adults brush up on skills needed for college. Info: 686-2500.

* * *

The African American Museums Association is requesting volunteers to work in the following areas: publicity, legislative, and membership promotion.

AAMA is a service organization for museums, historical societies, cultural centers and others that collect, conserve, exhibit and interpret African-American culture.

Call the association at 332-6332 for further information.

AROUND TOWN

- Applications for the Low Income Energy Assistance Program are now being accepted. The federally-assisted program provides financial assistance and conservation measures to help low-income households meet home heating bills. Info: DC Energy Hotline, 724-2100.

- The Office of Planning and Development has extended the public comment period of the draft comprehensive plan to April 8.

- Save the Tivoli Inc. has received \$15,000 in grants to study the feasibility of restoring the Tivoli Theatre at 14th Street and Park Road NW. The bulk of the grant came from the National Endowment for the Arts and will pay for architectural and marketing studies on the costs and benefits of restoring the 2500-seat theatre built in 1924. (462-2792)

- The Community Steering Committee for the Eastern Market Study presented its recommendations to Mayor Barry and the council. The suggestions were passed by a majority vote over the objections of members of the committee that were market tenants and a group that is opposing anything other than minimal improvements. The majority CSC recommendations include retaining Eastern Market as a neighborhood-oriented working market (rejecting Georgetown and Boston models), renovating utility systems, expanding retail food space on the first floor, using the basement for food or restaurant use, adding a partial mezzanine for food service, and using the North Hall exclusively for community and arts-related purposes.

- The school board, acceding to pressure from city hall, cut its capital improvements budget for the next five years by \$17 million and says it will consider further cuts. This represents about a 22% slash from the capital budget it submitted last summer.

- Republican Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania takes over from Alfonse D'Amato as chair of the Senate District appropriations subcommittee in the new session of Congress. Specter, a former Philadelphia DA, lives in Georgetown, and says he favors home rule, anti-crime measures, the convention center and minimal meddling by Congress in DC affairs.

- Mitch Snyder of the Community for Creative Non-Violence, urged last month that Congress allow the use of federal office buildings as emergency shelters. After being criticized for inaction on the homeless issue, the city announced that the old Bundy School would be used as an emergency shelter. Human Services director Audrey Rowe said "There are not thousands of homeless people in the street as some people would have us believe. There is not a crisis. None of

our facilities are turning people away. CCNV is feeding 1000 - 1500 hungry people a day. Mary Ellen Hombs and Mitch Snyder of the Community for Creative Non-Violence, have written a new book, "Homelessness in America: A Forced March to Nowhere. Info: Carol Fennelly at 667-6407 or Mitch Snyder at 667-7884.

- A task force of the Greater Washington Research Center reported that DC has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country. Basic cause is the high percentage of underweight babies. DC's percentage of such births is fifty percent higher than New York's.

- The Department of Transportation has issued a bike map of Washington, printed on waterproof and tearproof paper, and featuring topography, official bike routes and streets to avoid for safety reasons. Streets are color-coded according to suitability for bike use. Copies: \$3 from the Office of Documents, Room 19, District Building, DC 20004.

- The transportation department is accepting bids for 500 bus shelters, which the contractor would build in return for advertising space. The city would receive ten percent of ad revenues.

- The city has signed an 80 year lease that will result in the preservation of the Sumner School at 17th & M. The school system will use the historic structure for a research library and for meetings and adjoining land will be used for commercial development.

- After word of a possible sweetheart deal for use of the space under Dupont Circle leaked out, the city has backed off of plans to lease the old streetcar tunnels to a political ally of the mayor. Now the city will set up a new panel to recommend disposition of the site, including two community members.

- A US Department of Housing report states that Washington area homeowners are now spending 43 percent of their annual income on mortgage payments — up from 27 percent in 1927. The old rule of thumb was that you shouldn't pay more than 25% of your income in mortgage payments. Says HUD economist Art Goldstein, "Homeownership may cease to be a reasonable expectation for many."

- The local landmarks committee is considering this month several applications for landmark status. Included are the Homer Building on 13th Street, Twin Oaks and 1201-1223 N St. NW.

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